

Clement's Biblical Exegesis

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Clement's Biblical Exegesis

*Proceedings of the Second Colloquium on Clement of
Alexandria (Olomouc, May 29–31, 2014)*

Edited by

Veronika Černušková, Judith L. Kovacs,
and Jana Plátová

in cooperation with

Vít Hušek



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Preface

In May 2014 the Sts. Cyril and Methodius Faculty of Theology, Palacký University Olomouc, in the Czech Republic hosted an international colloquium that was one of a very few meetings devoted entirely to the works of Clement of Alexandria. This conference continued the work of Colloquium Clementinum I held in Olomouc in October 2010, which had focused on the last book of Clement's most important extant work, the *Stromateis*. This seventh book constitutes the culmination of the discussions of various ethical questions in *Stromateis* I–VI. Drawing together some of the most important topics covered in the earlier books, *Stromateis* VII presents an impressive, optimistic picture of the Christian religion, as lived by the true Gnostic. The theme chosen for Colloquium Clementinum II was a broader one, for which all of Clement's works are relevant, his use and interpretation of the Christian Bible.

Although research on Clement has tended to emphasize his use of pagan sources, especially teachings of Platonic and Stoic philosophy, Clement was important not only as a Christian philosopher, but also as a pioneer Christian exegete. He was one of the very first to make use of almost all the books that would be included in the Christian Bible. His works are replete with quotations from, and allusions to, the Scriptures, and they constitute a crucial link in the tradition of Alexandrian exegesis that runs from Philo the Jew to Origen, the most influential interpreter of the Bible in the patristic period. Clement's interpretation of books of the Old Testament was directly influenced by that of Philo, especially in the allegorical interpretation of the Books of Moses, and many features of his interpretation of both testaments anticipate that of Origen. On the other hand, many of Clement's comments on biblical texts are original and unique. But his biblical exegesis, despite its importance, has received much less attention than the interpretations of Philo or Origen. Colloquium Clementinum II was organized to contribute to filling this gap in our understanding of Clement and his historical significance and to encourage further research in this area.

The twelve essays contained in this volume of Proceedings, drafts of which were prepared for the colloquium and, with one exception, read and discussed in Olomouc, explore different facets of Clement's hermeneutical theory and his exegetical practice. To provide context for these essays, the volume begins with an extended Introduction that presents an overview of how Scripture figures in Clement's extant works and surveys earlier research on various aspects of his exegesis. This is followed by a comprehensive Bibliography of works on the topic.

The articles that follow this Introduction and Bibliography are presented in three parts, each of which considers Clement's scriptural exegesis from a different point of view. The first part explores how Clement's methods of interpreting sacred texts compare with those of his predecessors and successors. ALAIN LE BOULLUEC considers the "symbolical style," a phrase Clement uses to describe the style of Scripture as well as his own program of teaching in the *Stromateis*, in comparison with ideas of Clement's pagan contemporaries such as Plutarch and Cornutus. He shows how Clement applies to the interpretation of the Christian Scriptures two notions that were used in interpreting pagan religious rites and classical texts such as Homer: comparative mythology and a theory of symbolism which presumes a deeper meaning behind sacred words and actions. Le Boulluec asks if for Clement the event of Christ's incarnation is also a subject for allegorical interpretation, or whether it is instead the key to "the symbolical style" as Clement understands this. ILARIA RAMELLI investigates Clement's *allegoresis* (her term for a philosophically motivated allegorical interpretation), beginning with an examination of terminology (enigma, type, allegory and especially mystery). She then considers the close connection, for both Clement and his predecessors, between philosophical or theological doctrines and the exegesis of sacred texts. Her consideration of the influence of earlier traditions of *allegoresis* includes Philo and Stoic allegorists and concludes with a detailed reconstruction of what we know about the exegesis of Clement's Christian teacher Pantainos. MARCO RIZZI compares Clement's allegorical exegesis with that of Philo and Origen, first noting similarities related to their common experience of the religious and cultural milieu of Alexandria and the fact that they all read the Bible in the Greek translation of the Septuagint. Then by comparing their views on the nature of biblical revelation, its intended audience, and how it functions to bring about knowledge of God, Rizzi articulates Clement's unique vision of the Bible as a supreme guide to all reality, intended for all humanity.

The papers in the second part of the book examine the reciprocal relationship between features of Clement's theology, which he calls "the true philosophy," and his reading of Scripture. They consider how the questions raised by ancient philosophy influence the way Clement reads the Bible, and conversely, how his reading of the Bible leads him to alter certain inherited philosophical ideas. JOHANNES A. STEENBUCH discusses Clement's view of Scripture as an indirect medium of the "voice of the Lord." He argues that this distinction between Scripture and the "voice of the Lord" follows from Clement's negative theology and his view of the symbolic nature of language. ILARIA VIGORELLI's paper deals with the word *schesis* ("disposition" or "relationship"), which Clement uses together with the biblical concept of *agape* to describe the mutual relationship between God the Father and the *Logos*. She

analyses every occurrence of the term *schesis* in Clement's works and shows how Clement modifies a philosophical idea in light of his reading of Scripture. MATYÁŠ HAVRDA's article asks why Clement begins *Stromateis* book eight, a philosophical work whose primary focus is on questions of logic, with a quotation of Matt 7:7 (*Seek and you shall find*). Havrda argues that in the first pages of this work Clement defines Christian philosophical inquiry as a process of reflection in which difficult biblical passages are interpreted in the light of the whole of Scripture. He seeks to explain why the rest of the *Stromateis* VIII contains purely philosophical material that does not seem to correspond to the intention stated in the first part of the book.

The essays in the third part of the Proceedings consider Clement's interpretation of particular sections of the Bible that figure prominently in his works. Focusing especially on the books of Proverbs, the gospels of Matthew and John, and the Pauline epistles, they explore how, why, and in what contexts he cites them. ANNEWIES VAN DEN HOEK observes that Clement refers to Proverbs far more often than does any earlier or contemporary Christian author (with the exception of Origen). She considers Clement's selection of verses, how he combines verses from different passages in Proverbs, and the various topics for which he finds the wisdom of Proverbs particularly relevant (e.g., eating, education, discipline, and women). Observing the much greater frequency of citations from Proverbs in Clement's early works (the *Protreptikos* and *Paidagogos*, van den Hoek discusses possible reasons why his use of Proverbs is radically reduced in his later works. The next paper, by VERONIKA ČERNUŠKOVÁ, examines Clement's interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount, noting which verses Clement cites or alludes to most often and also which verses are never referenced. The principle of selection, the paper argues, is relevance to the topics of human desires, the will of God, and the divine and human perspectives on the problem of evil. On the basis of this analysis, the essay seeks to answer the more general theological question of what Clement means when he says that all human desires should be abandoned. PIOTR ASHWIN-SIEJKOWSKI studies Clement's references to the Gospel of John against the background of the use of the Gospel by various orthodox and heterodox groups in the second century. He shows how Clement's reading of this gospel integrates philosophical traditions of Middle Platonism, Philo's exegesis, and the Christian kerygma. MIKLÓS GYURKOVICS analyzes a little noticed aspect of Clement's Logos theology, how he uses the philosophical concept of "place" in interpreting the Prologue to the Gospel of John. The meaning of "place" is a recurrent problem in ancient philosophy, as seen for example in Plato and Philo of Alexandria. Gyurkovics argues that these philosophical discussions inform Clement's reflections on John 1, in which he presents the divine Logos as guarantor of both place and existence. In the following contribution, DAVIDE DAINESE

discusses the *Adumbrationes*, the Latin translation of parts of Clement's commentary on four catholic epistles (1 Peter, Jude and 1–2 John), which is traditionally regarded as the longest extant fragment of Clement's lost biblical commentary, the *Hypotyposes*. Dainese questions this common assumption about the provenance of the work, using as a test case Clement's interpretation of 1 John 2:7 and 5:16. Comparing the content of these comments with several passages in the *Stromateis* in which Clement promises to treat certain themes in a future work called *On First Principles*—a work we do not possess, Dainese suggests that the *Adumbrationes* may in fact be fragments of that work. The final paper by JUDITH L. KOVACS points out that the apostle whom Clement calls the “divinely inspired Paul” is by far the most frequently quoted author in Clement's works. She shows how Clement reads the large corpus of letters attributed to Paul in the patristic period in conversation with three real or imagined dialogue partners: “heterodox” Christians (including radical ascetics, antinomians, and followers of Valentinus), simple believers (who had enlisted Paul's authority in support of their opposition to Christian use of Greek philosophy), and Greek philosophers who were critical of the fledgling Christian faith.

The Colloquium Clementinum II was organized by the Czech Patristic Society and the Centre of Patristic, Medieval and Renaissance Texts, attached to Sts. Cyril and Methodius Theological Faculty at Palacky University Olomouc.* The editors of this volume would like to express their gratitude to all who accepted their invitation to take part and for the friendly and fruitful discussions during the Colloquium and subsequent to it. We are grateful also to the founder of the Centre and the president of the Czech Patristic Society, Lenka Karfíková, whose encouragement and advice enabled Clementine studies in the Czech Republic. We would also like to thank Matyáš Havrda, the primary editor of the book of Proceedings of the first Colloquium Clementinum in Olomouc in 2010, for his counsel. Last but not least, we are most grateful to representatives of Palacky University for their support, especially the rector of the university, Jaroslav Miler, and the dean of the Theological Faculty, Gabriela Vlková.

Veronika Černušková, Judith Kovacs, Jana Plátová

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List of Abbreviations

ANF	Ante-Nicene Fathers
ASE	<i>Annali di storia dell'esegesi</i>
AT	<i>Annales Theologici</i>
Aug	<i>Augustinianum</i>
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>
BiPa	Biblia Patristica: Index des citations et allusions bibliques dans la littérature. <i>Patristique</i> , (J. Allenbach et al. eds.), 7 vols. Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1975–
ByzF	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche
CahBiPa	Cahiers de Biblia Patristica
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CNRS	Centre national de la recherche scientifique
CPS	Corona patrum salesiana
EKKNT	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
ETL	<i>Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses</i>
EvT	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
FZPhTh	<i>Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie</i>
GCS	Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte
Gn	<i>Gnomon</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
JAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JECS	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
JR	<i>The Journal of Religion</i>
JSOT.S	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LCA	Letteratura cristiana antica
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
MUSJ	<i>Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph</i>
NHMS	Nag Hammadi & Manichaean Studies
NovT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus

<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>OUP</i>	Oxford University Press
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>RivB</i>	<i>Rivista biblica italiana</i>
<i>REAug</i>	<i>Revue des études augustinienes</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
<i>RHPR</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses</i>
<i>RSR</i>	<i>Recherches de science religieuse</i>
<i>RTK</i>	<i>Roczniki teologiczno-kanoniczne</i>
<i>SBLNTGF</i>	Society of Biblical Literature: The New Testament in the Greek Fathers
<i>SC</i>	Sources Chrétiennes
<i>ScripV</i>	<i>Scriptorium victoriense</i>
<i>SEAug</i>	Studia ephemeridis Augustinianum
<i>SEI</i>	Società editrice internazionale
<i>SecCent</i>	<i>Second Century</i>
<i>SHR</i>	Studies in the History of Religions
<i>SP</i>	<i>Studia Patristica</i>
<i>SPhilo</i>	<i>Studia philonica</i>
<i>ST</i>	<i>Studia Theologica</i> (Olomouc)
<i>SUNT</i>	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
<i>ThAthen</i>	<i>Theologia</i> (Athen)
<i>TSK</i>	<i>Theologische Studien und Kritiken</i>
<i>VChr</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
<i>VChr Suppl.</i>	Supplements to <i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
<i>VetChr</i>	<i>Vetera Christianorum</i>
<i>VH</i>	<i>Vivens homo</i>
<i>WUNT</i>	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZAC</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum</i>
<i>ZEE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik</i>
<i>ZKG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>

Introduction. Clement as Scriptural Exegete: Overview and History of Research

Judith L. Kovacs

Clement of Alexandria is best known as the first major Christian Platonist,¹ but a glance at the indices in Otto Stählin's GCS edition of Clement's works reveals the enormous importance of the Christian Scriptures for his teaching. Clement makes use of almost all the books that would later be included in the church's two-part canon of Old and New Testaments, and references to biblical texts far outnumber those to works of Greek philosophers. His writings contain approximately 3200 quotations from, or allusions to, verses from the Old Testament and 5000 from the New Testament.²

This introduction will provide an overview of how Scripture figures in Clement's extant works and survey research on various aspects of his exegesis. It will begin with a few studies that present a broad picture of Clement's use and interpretation of the Bible. After this I shall treat the following specific topics, drawing on the primary texts of Clement's writings as well as relevant secondary literature: 1) Clement's effective scriptural canon and the extent of his biblical references; 2) his understanding of the nature of Scripture; 3) his interpretive practice: various forms of exegetical comment found in Clement's writings; 4) his conception of different senses of Scripture; 5) how Clement's exegesis, especially his allegorical interpretation, compares with the practice of other ancient exegetes; 6) the purpose served by his allegorical interpretation; 7) how Clement interprets specific passages from the Old and New Testaments.

1 Of the many studies of Clement's debt to Greek philosophy see especially Dietmar Wyrwa, *Die christliche Platonaneignung in den Stromateis von Clemens Alexandrinus* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1983); Salvatore R.C. Lilla, *Clement of Alexandria: A Study in Christian Platonism and Gnosticism* (Oxford: OUP, 1971).

2 James Carleton Paget, "The Christian Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Alexandrian Tradition," in M. Sæbø, Ch. Brekelmans, and M. Haran (eds.), *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament. The History of Its Interpretation*, vol. 1: From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages (until 1300). Part 1: Antiquity (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 478–542, here 485.

Three General Treatments of Clement's Exegesis

Most of these topics are taken up in Claude Mondésert's *Clément d'Alexandrie. Introduction à l'étude de sa pensée religieuse à partir de l'Écriture*, whose title expresses the author's conviction that Scripture is at the center of Clement's theology. Published in 1944, it remains valuable more than seventy years later.³ The book's central section on Clement's exegesis is framed by two preliminary chapters, which treat Clement's intellectual and spiritual milieu and his "esoteric attitude," and a third part that presents the main themes of Clement's theology, understood as interpretation of Scripture. The seven chapters of Mondésert's central section on scriptural exegesis consider: Clement's knowledge of Scripture: the frequency and manner of his citation (chapter 3), the origin, value and importance of Scripture (chapter 4); the divine Logos as key to understanding Scripture (chapter 5); explicitly stated hermeneutical rules (chapter 6); symbolism: the letter and the spirit (chapter 7); different senses of Scripture (chapter 8); and Clement and Philo (chapter 9). Throughout, Mondésert makes brief reference to a very large number of passages from across the Clementine corpus. As the most comprehensive study of Clement's scriptural interpretation his book will be referenced frequently in this essay.

Mondésert's work is referenced and updated in the brief but rich overview of J. Carleton Paget, "The Christian Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Alexandrian Tradition."⁴ The scope of this essay, which also discusses Philo and Origen as well as Clement's teacher Pantaenus, is limited to interpretation of the first testament. Paget maintains that "For Clement the Bible is the central focus of his theological meditation."⁵ He stresses Clement's high view of Moses as "the law incarnate,"⁶ a point Clement develops in dependence on Philo, with the difference that for Clement Moses is subordinated to the revelation in Christ. Clement nowhere subjects the law to brutal criticism or regards it in any way as defective,⁷ and he musters a strong defense against criticisms of the Old Testament and its god made by Marcion and others. Paget captures

3 Claude Mondésert, *Clément d'Alexandrie. Introduction à l'étude de sa pensée religieuse à partir de l'Écriture* (Paris: Aubier, 1944).

4 Paget discusses Clement on pages 482–99.

5 Paget, "Christian Exegesis," 498.

6 *Strom.* 1 26, 167; Paget, "Christian Exegesis," 489, n. 80. References to passages in Clement works follow the GCS edition: Otto Stählin and Ursula Treu (eds.), *Protrepticus und Paedagogus* (Berlin: Akademie, 31972); O. Stählin, L. Früchtel and U. Treu (eds.), *Stromata I–VI* (Berlin: Akademie, 41985); O. Stählin, L. Früchtel, *Stromata VII and VIII, Excerpta ex Theodoto* (Berlin: Akademie, 21970). Texts in the *Stromateis* and the *Paidagogos* are cited by book, chapter, and section number (and, in some instances, sub-section number).

7 Paget, "Christian Exegesis," 495.

well the extended sense in which Clement uses the word “prophecy” to refer to the whole Old Testament: “For him the Old Testament is primarily prophecy, and virtually all its writers are prophets, Moses included (*Paed.* 1 11, 96, 3).”⁸ Clement uses the term “prophecy” not only to indicate future predictions but also to refer to philosophical and mystical truths intimated long ago.

A third study that presents a broad picture of Clement’s exegesis is Ulrich Schneider’s *Theologie als Christliche Philosophie. Zur Bedeutung der biblischen Botschaft im Denken des Clemens von Alexandria*.⁹ Like Mondésert and Paget, Schneider stresses the paramount importance of the Bible for Clement, but his interest is in the theological vision that underlies Clement’s exegesis rather than details of his exegetical practice.¹⁰ Schneider poses the question of what weight biblical concepts have for Clement’s theology and how they influence the ideas he takes over from the Greek intellectual world.¹¹ His book is divided into three parts. The first argues that the center around which Clement’s theology is organized is his view of *Heilsgeschichte*, which Schneider understands to mean history as carefully directed by God for the gradual education and redemption of all humanity.¹² God’s plan for the salvation of all, which includes the preliminary stages of the Old Testament and Greek philosophy, culminates in the incarnation of the divine Logos, which surpasses all previous revelation.¹³ There is a reciprocal relation between the process by which the whole world is perfected and the gradual perfection of the individual believer, which is the subject of part 3 of Schneider’s book. In part 2 Schneider considers Clement’s exegesis of the Bible, arguing that Clement’s view of Scripture and the allegorical method he uses for interpreting it are closely linked to the two processes of perfection considered in parts 1 and 3. He mounts a defense of the continued value of allegorical exegesis as “a necessary component of an academically legitimate, clearly thought-through hermeneutical and theological concept.”¹⁴

8 Paget, “Christian Exegesis,” 486.

9 Berlin: De Gruyter, 1999.

10 Note the absence of a scriptural index in Schneider’s book.

11 Schneider, *Theologie*, 5. He argues that in Clement’s view the Bible presupposes Greek ideas and raises them to a higher level.

12 Schneider (*Theologie*, 50) asserts on the basis of *Strom.* VI 7, 55–57: “dass konkret im Wissen über die gottgefügte Geschichte genau der systematische Grundansatz des Clemens besteht.”

13 Schneider, *Theologie*, 75.

14 Schneider, *Theologie*, 124: “Daher gipfeln die folgenden Untersuchungen darin, zu zeigen, dass die symbolistische Schriftdeutung, und zwar der scheinbare Wildwuchs widersprüchlicher und phantastischer Deutungen eingeschlossen, notwendiger Bestandteil eines wissenschaftlich legitimen, klar durchdachten hermeneutischen und theologischen Konzepts ist.”

This argument will be examined in section 6 below, which considers construals of the purpose of Clement's exegesis.

1 Clement's Canon of Scripture and the Extent of his Biblical References

I turn now to more specific aspects Clement's Scriptural exegesis. A first question concerns what works Clement includes in the category of "Scriptures," and how and to what extent he quotes from them. Among early Christian writers, Clement is famous for the extent to which he uses earlier sources. According to Annewies van den Hoek, Clement borrows from 363 pagan authors, 32 early Christian authors, 42 Old Testament and 25 New Testament books.¹⁵ While the list of pagan authors is astonishingly large, the number of individual references to biblical books is much greater, with Saint Paul the most cited author by a large margin. Van den Hoek makes the following numerical comparison of citations from Clement's favorite pagan, Jewish and New Testament authors, based on the indices in Otto Stählin's German translation of the *Stromateis* (BKV 7 and 20), which she finds more complete than those in the GCS:

Philo	279, 9 columns
Plato	618, 15.5 columns
Homer	243, 6 columns
Euripides	117, 3.5 columns
Chrysippus	4 columns
Hesiod	1 column
Herodotus	2 columns
Matthew	11 columns
Luke	7.5 columns
Mark	3 columns
John	5 columns
Acts	1.5 columns
Paul	1273; 27 columns. ¹⁶

Mondésert stresses Clement prodigious knowledge of Scripture as well as his faithful memory: "It is sufficient for us to observe that Clement has a

15 Annewies van den Hoek, "Techniques of Quotation in Clement of Alexandria: A View of Ancient Literary Working Methods," *VChr* 50 (1996) 223–43, here 240, notes 43–4.

16 Van den Hoek, "Techniques," 227; 240 notes 44–51.

thoroughly scriptural style, that the words, the expressions, the images, the ideas of Scripture occur naturally and constantly through his pen.”¹⁷ Given this, it should be remembered that the numbers of borrowings as estimated by scholars are only approximations, intended to give some idea of the relative importance of various sources for Clement.¹⁸

Clement is the first known Christian writer to use the phrase “Old Covenant/ Testament” (παλαιὰ διαθήκη) and “New Covenant/ Testament” (νέα διαθήκη) to refer to collections of authoritative writings,¹⁹ although he never lists what books are included therein, nor does he discuss criteria for inclusion among the “Scriptures.” Like Paul and other New Testament authors, Clement quotes the Old Testament Scriptures according to the Septuagint, which he regards as inspired.²⁰ He quotes from, or alludes to, all the books contained in the later Jewish canon of Hebrew and Aramaic Scriptures,²¹ except Ruth, Obadiah,

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- 17 Mondésert, *Clément d’Alexandrie*, 71: “Il nous suffit de constater que Clément a un style tout scripturaire, que les mots, les expressions, les images, les idées de l’Écriture se présentent naturellement et constamment sous sa plume.” David Dawson, in *Allegorical Readers and Cultural Revision in Ancient Alexandria* (Berkeley: University of California, 1992), 183–234, here 218, contrasts this way of using the biblical text and that of Philo “who clearly distinguishes between text and commentary.” Paget, “Christian Exegesis,” 388, describes Clement’s tendency to incorporate scriptural words into his own discourse in a less positive way than Mondésert: “texts are ripped from their original context and placed within the wider context of his discussion.”
- 18 For one example of how Clement alludes to an extended biblical passage by means of a single word that is incorporated within the syntax of his own argument (in this case the Pauline word “works”), see Judith L. Kovacs, “Grace and Works: Clement of Alexandria’s Response to Valentinian Exegesis of Paul,” in Tobias Nicklas, Andreas Merkt, and Joseph Verheyden (eds.), *Ancient and New Perspectives on Paul* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 191–210. On the complexity of Clement’s use of his sources, see van den Hoek, “Techniques.”
- 19 For the first expression see *Strom.* III 6, 54; V 10, 61 for the latter see *Strom.* III 11, 71; both appear in *Strom.* I 3, 28 and V 13, 85. Clement’s phrase νέα διαθήκη may derive from the similar phrase καινή διαθήκη which appears with different meaning in Heb 8:8 (citing Jer 31:31 LXX); Luke 22:20; 1 Cor 11:25; 2 Cor 3:6; Heb 9:15; cf. 2 Cor 3:14. For further discussion see Paget, “Christian Exegesis,” 485, and Alain Le Boulluec, “De l’usage de titres ‘néotestamentaires’ chez Clément d’Alexandrie,” in *Alexandrie antique et chrétienne: Clément et Origène* (Paris: Institut d’Études Augustiniennes, 2006), 123–33, here 123–5.
- 20 Although as Paget (“Christian Exegesis,” 486) notes, some of his citations, particularly from the prophets, agree with other versions, especially Theodotian.
- 21 The Protestant Christian canon of the Old Testament includes the same books as the Jewish Bible, ordered and divided differently to make up 39 books in comparison with 24 in the Jewish canon. The Roman Catholic canon of the Old Testament is larger, including all the books found in the Septuagint.

Nehemiah and the Song of Songs. Of the additional books included in the Greek Septuagint he quotes from or alludes to 2 Maccabees, Tobit, Judith, Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, the Wisdom of Solomon, and the Wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach (Ecclesiasticus), and in *Protr.* 6, 71, 4 he refers to the *Sibylline Oracles* as if they were inspired.²² Like other patristic writers, he pays particular attention to Genesis, Exodus, Deuteronomy, the Psalms, and Isaiah. More unusually, he especially favors the wisdom books, above all Proverbs.²³

Clement is an important early witness to books that were included in the later church's canon of the New Testament, drawing on twenty-five of the twenty-seven books, all except Philemon and 3 John. In addition, he makes use of numerous other early Christian writings, including *Barnabas*,²⁴ the *Shepherd of Hermas*, 1 *Clement*, the *Didache*,²⁵ the *Gospel of the Egyptians*,²⁶ the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, the *Preaching of Peter*, and the *Apocalypse of Peter*.²⁷ As already indicated, the New Testament books he uses most frequently are letters of Paul—he refers to thirteen of the fourteen letters regarded as Pauline by patristic writers and especially favors 1 Corinthians and Ephesians, along with the Gospel of Matthew.

Alain Le Boulluec, in an article entitled “De l’usage de titres ‘néotestamentaires’ chez Clément d’Alexandrie,” shows that even though Clement does not provide a canonical list, his works give evidence that he has concern to delimit the authoritative New Testament books, in response to usage he

22 Paget, “Christian Exegesis,” 485–6.

23 Paget (“Christian Exegesis,” 486, n. 51), following Stählin’s *Sachregister* (1936), counts 300 quotations from Psalms, 240 from Isaiah, and 320 from Proverbs.

24 Le Boulluec, “Titres ‘néotestamentaires,’” 130, cites many passages from Clement’s works (including a fragment from his *Hypotyposes* preserved in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 11 1, 4) which show that Clement attributed great authority to the *Epistle of Barnabas*, whose author he regarded as an apostle and associate of Paul (as in Acts 13:1).

25 In *Strom.* 1 21, 101, 4 Clement refers to an unattributed saying from the *Didache* as coming from “Scripture.”

26 Clement quotes *logia* from this work five times in *Stromateis* 111, in order to dispute interpretations of the radical ascetic Julius Cassian. He does not reject the gospel’s authority outright but offers his own alternative exegeses of the *logia*. He does, however, indicate that the book has less authority than “the four received gospels” (*Strom.* 111 13, 93).

27 For references to passages in which Clement makes use of these works, see van den Hoek, “Clement and Origen as Sources on ‘Noncanonical’ scriptural Traditions during the Late Second and Early Third Centuries,” in G. Dorival and A. Le Boulluec (eds.), *Origeniana Sexta. Origène et la Bible* (Leuven: University Press, 1995), 93–113; *eadem*, “Divergent Gospel Traditions in Clement of Alexandria and Other Authors of the Second Century,” *Apocrypha* 7 (1996) 43–62.

regards as “heretical.”²⁸ In regard to the gospels, for example, Le Boulluec cites several indications of this concern including: 1) a fragment from Clement’s *Hypotyposes* (in Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* VI 14, 5–7) on the order of the gospels’ composition which speaks of only four gospels; 2) a comment on Mark 10:17–31 in *Quis div.* 5, 1 in which Clements refers to “the other gospels universally recognized”; 3) A comment on the *Gospel of the Egyptians in Strom.* III 13, 93, which indicates that this book, though not rejected, has less authority than “the four received gospels”; 4) his frequent use of the expression “in the Gospel” to indicate the provenance of a text from Matthew, Mark, Luke or John.²⁹ While only these four gospels have a clear scriptural status, this restriction of authority is not absolute; Clement also accepts as authoritative *logia* of Jesus transmitted as *agrapha* or in other gospels, and his attitude towards those other gospels is ambiguous.³⁰

Le Boulluec notes a similar situation in regard to the “apostolic” writings. Despite his championing of Paul as “the” apostle par excellence and his use of several of the “catholic” epistles, Clement does not regard “apostolic” teaching as limited to a group of authorized texts, excluding everything else. This is indicated, for example, by his high regard for books such as Barnabas and the *Preaching of Peter*.³¹ For Clement, Le Boulluec points out, authentic Christian teaching is not safeguarded by establishing a restrictive canon of New Testament writings, but instead by “hermeneutical vigilance,” which involves interpreting received evangelical and apostolic traditions in light of the secret oral tradition transmitted from Christ through the apostles (*Strom.* I 1, 11) and received as “the ecclesiastical gnosis” (ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ γνῶσις; *Strom.* VII 16, 104).³²

Clement sometimes quotes a text word for word, as if he has the scroll of the text in front of him; at other times he seems to be quoting from memory.³³ Some of his biblical citations are taken from intermediate sources, including Philo, Barnabas, 1 Clement, and various gnostic interlocutors whom he quotes in *Stromateis* III.³⁴ Méhat finds it likely that Clement has used early Christian

28 Le Boulluec, “Titres ‘néotestamentaires,’” 125.

29 *Ibid.*, 125–8.

30 *Ibid.*, 133.

31 *Ibid.*, 129.

32 *Ibid.*, 128–33. On Clement’s canon of the New Testament see also A. James Brooks, “Clement of Alexandria as a Witness to the Development of the New Testament Canon,” *SecCent* 9 (1992) 41–55; C. Stephen Carlson, “Clement of Alexandria on the ‘Order’ of the Gospels,” *NTS* 47 (2001) 118–25.

33 For detailed discussion of how Clement uses his sources, see van den Hoek, “Techniques.”

34 See André Méhat, “L’Hypothèse des ‘Testimonia’ à l’épreuve des *Stromates*. Remarques sur les citations de l’Ancien Testament chez Clément d’Alexandrie,” in M. Aubineau (ed.),

“Testimonies,” sources in which Old Testament passages were combined in a certain order and related to Christian realities.³⁵

Clement differs from Origen in that he shows no interest in textual criticism, although, as Paget points out, he does on occasion criticize other exegetes for corrupting a biblical text.³⁶ Text critics have found it difficult to identify the type of text Clement follows. For the Old Testament citations Stählin noted frequent differences from Codex Vaticanus (B).³⁷ In a study of Clement’s text of the gospels that makes use of methodology developed by Bart Ehrman, Carl Cosaert observes a variation in the text type to which Clement is closest: in Matthew and John his text is closer to Alexandrian readings, whereas in Mark and Luke it is more like the Western text type.³⁸ But noting that Clement’s affinity with any text type is below sixty-five per cent, Cosaert assumes that “at the end of the second century there was not a single dominant text type in Alexandria—at least for the synoptics.” For the Gospel of John, however, the Primary Alexandrian text seems to have been dominant in Alexandria by this time.³⁹ In a recent article Cosaert offers a succinct summary of his

La Bible et les pères, Coll. de Strassbourg, 1–3 Octobre 1969 (Paris, 1971), 229–42, here 239–41. Méhat thinks that these indirect sources of citations are more significant than citations from memory or directly from a biblical book. He notes for example how Clement takes Old Testament verses from 1 Clement in *Strom.* IV 6, 32–33; 17, 105–113; 19, 118–119; 22, 135; from Barnabas in *Strom.* II 15, 67; V 8, 51–52; and from Romans 10–11 in *Strom.* II 9, 43.

35 See Méhat, “Testimonia,” Mondésert, *Clément d’Alexandrie*, 66–9; Paget, “Christian Exegesis,” 487. While he accepts the hypothesis that Clement used hypothetical sources that scholars refer to as “Testimonies,” Méhat emphasizes the ways he thinks Clement has altered his sources.

36 See e.g., *Strom.* III 4, 38–39, where, in an argument against antinomians, Clement claims that when they read Scripture “they alter some of the accents and punctuation marks in order to force wise and constructive commandments to support their desire for luxury” (III 4, 39, 2). See Paget, “Christian Exegesis,” 486.

37 Otto Stählin, *Clemens Alexandrinus und die Septuaginta*. Gymn. Progr. Nürnberg, 1901; cited in Mondésert, *Clément d’Alexandrie*, 77.

38 Carl P. Cosaert, *The Text of the Gospels in Clement of Alexandria* (SBLNTG 9; Atlanta: Society of biblical Literature, 2008), 250. For Cosaert’s methodology, see Bart Ehrman, *Didymus the Blind and the Text of the Gospels* (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1986).

39 Cosaert, *Text*, 277; 310. On Clement’s text of the Gospels, see also the earlier study of Michael Mees, *Die Zitate aus dem Neuen Testament bei Clemens von Alexandrien* (Quaderni di VetChr 2; Bari: Istituto di Letteratura Cristiana Antica, 1970); *idem*, “Das Matthäusevangelium in den Werken des Klemens von Alexandrien,” *Divinitas* 12/3 (1968) 675–98; Gérard Zaphiris, *Le text de l’Évangile selon saint Matthieu d’après les citations de Clément d’Alexandrie comparées aux citations des Pères et des Théologiens grecs du II^e au X^e siècle* (Gembloux: Duculot, 1970).

conclusions about the text types used by Clement in quoting from the Gospels, as well valuable observations about his manner of citation.⁴⁰ He notes, for example, that Clement's quotations from Paul are generally more accurate than those from the Synoptic gospels. Whereas his Pauline citations usually agree with texts known to us, suggesting that Clement is in this case quoting directly from manuscripts, he is freer in his Gospel's citations. Cosaert offers two possible reasons for this. First, the multiple witness of the Synoptic gospels encouraged conflation, harmonization and summary. The second reason is a paradoxical one: since Clement regards the words of the Lord as the highest authority, he is likely to have known the gospels especially well and thus to have been more able to cite them from memory.

2 Clement's Understanding of the Nature of Scripture

Clement is the first Christian to provide a theoretical argument about the nature of Scripture and how it is to be interpreted. His extended discussion of these questions in *Stromateis* v is a precursor to the hermeneutical essays of Origen in book 4 of *On First Principles* and Augustine in *On Christian Teaching*. According to Mondésert two principles guide Clement's understanding of Scripture): 1) it has unprecedented authority; 2) its form is mysterious.⁴¹

Despite his many citations from Plato and other Greek philosophers and poets, Clement makes clear that the Christian Scriptures have higher authority. Assuming without argument that they come directly from God, he borrows from 2 Tim 3:15–16 the description of “every Scripture” as “inspired by God”:

Now piety, whose aim is to make man like God insofar as possible (*Theaet.* 186b), claims God as the appropriate teacher. . . . This teaching the apostle recognizes as truly divine, when he says *You, O Timothy, have known from childhood the sacred letters* (or writings: γράμματα) *which are able to instruct you for salvation through faith in Christ Jesus*. For the letters that make holy and divine are themselves truly *holy*, and in what follows the apostle himself calls the writings composed from these sacred letters and syllables, i.e. the collected Scriptures, *inspired by God* (θεοπνεύστους) *and*

40 Carl P. Cosaert, “Clement's of Alexandria's Gospel Citations,” in Charles E. Hill and Michael J. Kruger (eds.), *The Early Text of the New Testament* (Oxford: OUP, 2012), 393–413.

41 Mondésert, *Clément d'Alexandrie*, 81–96.

useful for teaching, for reproof, for correction, and for training in righteousness (*Protr.* 9, 86–87).⁴²

Clement claims that the most reliable demonstration (ἀπόδειξις)—a word used for philosophical proof—comes from opening up and explaining the Scriptures (*Strom.* II 11, 49).⁴³

He regards the Septuagint as an inspired translation. In *Strom.* I 22, 148–149, he recounts stories also found in the Jewish *Letter of Aristeas* and Aristobolus about the translation of the “law and prophets” by seventy Jewish elders whose independent translations miraculously agreed with each other. To this account Clement adds that the Ptolemaic ruler who commissioned the translation to adorn the library of Alexandria was greatly concerned for its accuracy.

Clement attributes the authorship of the Scriptures variously to God, the divine Logos, or the Holy Spirit, who inspired the different authors. Most frequently he presents the Logos as both the speaker and the primary content of the Bible.

And even if one were to say, using a more tragic mode, that we should not believe: “For it was not Zeus who proclaimed these things to me” (Sophocles, *Antigone* 450), let him understand that it was God himself who proclaimed the Scriptures through his Son. And he who declares what is his own is trustworthy, since *no one knows the Father except the Son and anyone to whom the Son chooses to reveal him* (Matt 11:27; *Strom.* V 13, 85).

The divine Word revealed himself not only in the Incarnation but also at the burning bush, in the cloud, to Moses, and through the words of the prophets (*Protr.* 1, 8–2, 13).⁴⁴ Bolstering Scripture’s authority is the antiquity of its first testament—a point Clement argues at great length.⁴⁵ It is older than all Greek philosophy which has in fact “stolen” its best truths from Moses.⁴⁶

42 Translations of quotations from Clement’s works are my own; words quoted from Scripture are printed in italics. For the New Testament these follow the NRSV; for the Old Testament, where Clement is using the Greek Septuagint, not the Hebrew on which the NRSV is based, translations are my own.

43 In his article in Part 2 of the present volume, Matyáš Havrda considers the relevance of this conviction for understanding *Stromateis* VIII.

44 Discussed by Mondésert, *Clément d’Alexandrie*, 97–98; Paget, “Christian Exegesis,” 489.

45 See, e.g., *Strom.* I 21, 101–29, 182 and discussion of the “theft” of the Greeks in Lilla, *Clement of Alexandria*, 31–41; Paget, “Christian Exegesis,” 489.

46 See especially *Strom.* I 21, 102, 2 and Paget, “Christian Exegesis,” 489.

A second fundamental assumption Clement makes about Scripture is that it teaches in a mysterious way. In this, it has good company: “All, in a word, who have spoken of divine things, both barbarians and Greeks, have hidden the first principles of things, and handed down the truth in symbols, allegories, metaphors, and other similar figures (*Strom.* v 4, 21).⁴⁷ Clement views the Bible as a vast collection of riddles and enigmas, the understanding of which requires diligent study. It is the source of the “true philosophy” and the “true theology,” but only to those who approach it again and again and test its truth through their faith and by how they conduct their lives (*Strom.* v 9, 56). Scripture is enigmatic for two reasons. First, it treats divine things, and God cannot be expressed in words (*Strom.* II 16, 72; v 12, 78) but can only be spoken of in a symbolic way. Insofar as spiritual or intellectual things (τὰ νοητά) are capable of being known, it is only by means of images from the visible world, through parables (*Strom.* VI 15, 126).⁴⁸ The second reason for the enigmatic character of the Scriptures is that they are so designed in order to encourage diligent study, a point Clement is fond of making by citing from Matt 7:7: *Seek and you shall find; ask and it shall be given to you.*⁴⁹ Knowledge of divine things is only for those who have purified themselves and who are devoted to God, and it must be obtained gradually (*Strom.* v 4, 19–21).

Arguing against Marcion and others, Clement insists on the unity of the two testaments, a principle he calls “the rule of the church” (κανὼν ἐκκλησιαστικός; *Strom.* VI 15, 124–125).⁵⁰ On the one hand, the mysteries hidden in the law and the prophets were fulfilled and explained in the incarnation of Christ (*Strom.* v 14, 90; IV 21, 134). But Christ also taught in parables (*Strom.* VI 15, 124–125). As Paget points out, there is little in Clement’s actual exposition of texts from the Old and New Testaments to indicate that he saw a fundamental difference in the quality of their content or the degree of their authority.⁵¹ Both contain “mysteries” whose meaning requires careful exegesis. And both need to be interpreted by means of a secret tradition that has been handed down from the apostles (*Strom.* I 1, 11, 3).⁵²

47 On the “comparative mythology” that Clement uses to bolster his argument that Scripture conceals the truth, see the article by Le Boulluec in Part 1 of the present volume.

48 Discussed in Schneider, *Theologie*, 164. On the implications of Clement’s negative theology for his scriptural exegesis, see also the article by Johannes Steenbuch in Part 2 of the present volume.

49 Clement cites this text many times. See, e.g., *Strom.* I 11, 51; II 20, 116; III 7, 57; V 1, 11; 3, 16; VIII 1, 1–2.

50 See also *Strom.* VII 16, 95.

51 Paget, “Christian Exegesis,” 491.

52 See also *Strom.* v 10, 61, 1; VI 7, 61; Paget, “Christian Exegesis,” 491.

3 Clement's Interpretive Practice: Various Forms of Exegetical Comment

Clement's interpretation of Scripture has much in common with that of two other prominent Alexandrian exegetes, Philo and Origen, especially in his fondness for allegorical exegesis.⁵³ He owes a considerable debt to Philo's interpretations of passages from the Pentateuch,⁵⁴ and Origen's interpretation of the Bible follows Clement's on many points.⁵⁵ But there is a significant difference in the form in which he offers exegetical comments. While Clement's works are full of scriptural citations and allusions, none of his extant works take the form of a chapter-by-chapter commentary on a scriptural book. This is no doubt one reason why his exegesis has been less studied than that of his Alexandrian counterparts.

In the *Protreptikos*, *Paidagogos*, and *Stromateis* Clement's understanding of Scripture is usually revealed more in the manner and context of his citations, than in lengthy commentary. It is interesting, for example, to see how he collects verses from numerous biblical books to guide his reflection on specific topics, for example in chapters on idolatry (*Protr.* 8, 77–81) avoiding loose talk (*Paed.* II 7, 53–60), the utility of fear (*Strom.* II 7, 32–35), martyrdom (*Strom.* IV 9, 70–75), and concealment (*Strom.* V 10, 60–66). Passages like these reflect Clement's extensive knowledge of Scripture and are noteworthy as among the first Christian exercises in canonical exegesis, as he locates as many passages from both testaments as possible that speak to a given theme and seeks to enunciate from them a common teaching. As the approximate numbers of biblical references cited above indicate, Clement's works are also shot through with shorter discussions of biblical verses as well as many citations and allusions that receive little or no explicit commentary.

One example of a more extensive exegesis of a biblical text is Clement's work *Who is the Rich Man Who Will be Saved?* which explicates the story of

53 See, e.g., Paget, "Christian Exegesis"; David Dawson, *Allegorical Readers* and the article of Marco Rizzi in the present volume.

54 On Clement's debt to Philo see especially van den Hoek, *Clement of Alexandria and his Use of Philo in the Stromateis* (Leiden: Brill, 1988), discussed in sections 5 and 7 below.

55 Manlio Simonetti. *Lettera e/o Allegoria. Un contributo alla storia dell'esegesi patristica* (Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1985), 65–98 (on Clement and Origen). Before discussing the distinctive characteristics of Origen's exegesis, Simonetti observes (p. 73): "A considerarle singolarmente, quasi tutte le caratteristiche dell'esegesi origeniana si riscontrano già negli esegeti precedenti, soprattutto in Clemente, dal distinguere più sensi scritturistici a sfruttare per l'allegorizzazione le etimologie dei nomi ebraici, il simbolismo numerico e altri procedimenti di tipo filoniano."

Jesus' conversation with a rich man in Mark 10:17–31, especially the saying in verse 25: *It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for someone who is rich to enter the kingdom of God*. Another more detailed treatment of a single biblical text is the discussion of Psalm 19 (18 LXX) in paragraphs 51–63 of Clement's little-studied *Prophetic Eclogues*,⁵⁶ David Dawson observes that in the *Protreptikos*, *Paidagogos*, and *Stromateis* "Clement does not put scriptural quotations on display as specific lemmata that will be commented on."⁵⁷ This is correct to a large extent but there are notable exceptions. Scattered through the *Stromateis* are chapters whose main point is the elucidation of a specific biblical text, for example: *Strom.* I 11, 50–54 and I 18, 88–90 which treat 1 Cor 3:19–20 and other Pauline verses on "the wisdom of this world"; *Strom.* 1.17.81–90 on John 10:8 (*All who came before me were thieves and robbers*), *Strom.* 3.10.68–70 on Matt 18:20 (*Where two or three are gathered in my name*), *Strom.* III 12 (79–84), on 1 Cor 7⁵⁸ and *Strom.* V 10, 60–66 on several texts from Paul.

Of particular interest are four chapters, one in each of the last four books of the *Stromateis*, that are devoted to a giving a more advanced interpretation of one biblical passage. In *Strom.* V, chapter 6 (32–40), Clement sets forth a symbolic interpretation of the descriptions of the tabernacle and the garments of the high priest in Exodus 26–28, and in *Strom.* VI, chapter 16 (133–148) he explores the deeper meaning of the decalogue (Exodus 20:1–17). The other two chapters are early examples of symbolic exegesis of New Testament texts, one each from the gospels and the letters of Paul. In *Strom.* IV, chapter 6 (25–41) Clement interprets the beatitudes in Matthew 5 as a description of how the soul becomes perfect and ascends to God, and in *Strom.* VII, chapter 14 (84–88) he explores the deeper meaning of Paul's directives about lawsuits and fornication in 1 Corinthians 6.⁵⁹

Clement says that his interpretation of the tabernacle is an example of how to interpret the "enigmas" of Scripture "for those who have understanding" (*Strom.* V 6, 32, 1), and he labels his allegorical exegesis of the decalogue as an example of "gnostic exegesis" (*Strom.* VI 16, 133, 1). He also mentions several times that, as part of the "greater mysteries" he is planning to discuss "what

56 On these two examples of more detailed commentary on biblical texts, see section 7 below.

57 Dawson, *Allegorical Readers*, 218.

58 Book III of the *Stromateis* consists primarily of debates with numerous interlocutors about the interpretation of specific biblical texts, especially passages from the letters of Paul.

59 Research on these chapters will be discussed in section 7 below.

is handed down by the prophets” about creation,⁶⁰ which would presumably include an exegesis of Gen 1. Such passages suggest that he planned to write a more sustained exegetical commentary after completing the *Stromateis*. Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 6.13.1–3) reports that Clement composed an eight-volume work called the *Hypotyposes* that consisted of interpretations of the Scriptures along with Clement’s own “traditions” (παράδοσεις). Eusebius goes on to say that in this work Clement gave brief explanations of all the “canonical Scriptures” including disputed books such as Jude and the rest of the Catholic Epistles, *Barnabas*, and the *Apocalypse of Peter* (*Hist. eccl.* 6.14.1).⁶¹ The few surviving fragments from this work consist of succinct comments on verses from a number of Pauline letters and gospels.⁶² Other fragments of Clement’s exegesis are preserved in the *Adumbrationes*, a Latin translation of comments on 1 Peter 1–5; 1 John 1–5 and verses of Jude and 2 John, which was commissioned by Cassiodorus for his monastic library in Italy in the sixth century. This work is another example of sequential commentary that follows a text verse by verse, but the comments are brief. Whether these fragments come from Clement’s *Hypotyposes* or from another work is a matter of debate.⁶³ Davide Dainese, in his edition and commentary on this work, considers this attribution possible but enumerates some arguments against it.⁶⁴ Exegesis is also a prominent concern in, a work included in the Codex Laurentianus after the *Stromateis*, the *Eclogae Propheticae*, which appears to be a private notebook of Clement’s,⁶⁵

60 See, e.g., *Strom.* IV 2, 4, 1–3.

61 On the title by which this work is known, see Le Boulluec, “Extraits d’œuvres de Clément d’Alexandrie. La transmission et le sens de leurs titres,” in *Alexandrie antique et chrétienne: Clément et Origène* (Paris: Institut d’Études Augustiniennes, 2006), 109–22, here 117–22.

62 Jana Plátová, “Bemerkungen zu den Hypotyposen-Fragmenten des Clemens Alexandrinus,” *SP* 46 (2010) 181–7, discusses the twenty-three fragments attributed to the *Hypotyposes* in Stählin’s edition as well as other fragments that might possibly have come from this work. In “Die wunderliche Mär von zwei Logoi”. Clemens Alexandrinus, Frgm. 23—Zeugnis eines Arius ante Arium oder des arianischen Streits selbst?,” in *Logos, FS für Luise Abramowski*, *BZNW* 67 (1993) 193–219, Christoph Marksches argues that fragment 23, which comes from Photius, is not genuine. See also Plátová’s further study of the fragments attributed to the *Hypotyposes*, in “How Many Fragments of Clement’s *Hypotyposes* do we have” (forthcoming in *Studia Patristica*).

63 Plátová, “Bemerkungen,” assigns the *Adumbrationes* to the *Hypotyposes*.

64 Clemente Alessandrino. *Adombrazioni* (Milan: Paoline 2014), here 37–43. Dainese’s article in Part 3 of the present volume analyzes Clement’s interpretations of several verses from 1 John that are preserved in the *Adumbrationes*.

65 Research on Clement’s scriptural interpretation in the *Eclogae Propheticae* will be discussed in section 7 below.

although Pierre Nautin suggested in an influential article that it, along with *Stromateis* VIII and the *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, consists of extracts a copyist made from Clement's *Hypotyposes*.⁶⁶

4 Clement's Conception of Different Scriptural Senses

Clement is in awe of the manifold riches he finds in the two testaments of Christian Scripture, of which he has an impressive knowledge, and he interprets biblical texts in a variety of ways. Central to his hermeneutic is the distinction between two fundamental senses of—or ways of reading—a biblical text: the plain or historical sense (the “body” of the text) and a higher allegorical sense (its “soul”).⁶⁷ For example in *Strom.* III 12, 89 he commends the plain sense of the Ten Commandments of Exodus 20, but later, in *Strom.* VI 16, 133–148, he explicates their symbolic meaning. Similarly, in *Quis dives* 5, 1–4, speaking of Jesus' words to a rich man in Mark 10:17–31, Clement says that one must not only listen to the “carnal,” obvious sense but also search out the “divine and mysterious wisdom” hidden therein.

Since Clement puts great emphasis on the enigmatic character of Scripture and the importance of searching out its hidden meaning, it is not surprising that studies of his exegesis tend to focus primarily on his allegorical or symbolic interpretations of Scripture. But it should be noted that the plain meaning of

66 “La fin des *Stromates* et les *Hypotyposes* de Clément d'Alexandrie,” *VChr* 30 (1976) 268–302. Responses to Nautin's article have been mixed. It has been endorsed by Le Boulluec, “Extraits,” 109–22 and Bogdan Bucur, “The Place of the *Hypotyposeis* in the Clementine Corpus: An Apology for ‘The Other Clement of Alexandria,’” *J ECS* 17 (2009) 313–35. More cautious about the correctness of Nautin's thesis are Annewies van den Hoek, “Introduction,” in *Clément d'Alexandrie, Stromate IV* (SC 463; Paris: Cerf, 2001), 13 and n. 7 and Carlo Nardi (ed.), *Clemente Alessandrino, Estratti Profetici* (Firenze: Nardini Editore, 1985), 11. See Bucur (2009) for further bibliography on this question.

67 Clement does not have consistent names for these two senses. Scholars give them various names: “first” and “second” (Mondésert, *Clément d'Alexandrie*, 154), “historical/literal” and “symbolic” (Paget, “Christian Exegesis,” 493), “literal” or “immediately comprehensible” and “expressed in veiled and parabolic style” (“uno [livello] d'immediata comprensione” / “un altro espresso in forma velata e parabolica;” Simonetti, *Lettera*, 67). In the present article Clement's higher meaning will usually be referred to as the “allegorical interpretation,” because this is the designation most commonly used in the secondary literature. For a close study of Clement's exegetical terminology, see the article by Ilaria Ramelli in the present volume.

biblical texts also plays a large role in his writings.⁶⁸ It provides the framework for his understanding of the history of God's revelation, from the creation through Moses and the prophets, to the incarnation of the divine Logos and the promises of the eschatological perfection of believers found in the New Testament. Clement devotes considerable attention in *Stromateis* I to the life of Moses (I 23, 151–24, 164), and he praises the commandments of the Mosaic Law as embodying all virtue (*Strom.* II 18, 78). He frequently adduces moral advice from the Old Testament Wisdom literature⁶⁹ and introduces biblical figures as both positive and negative examples of conduct, including Abraham, Sarah, and Job, on the one hand, and those Jews who set up the golden calf, on the other.⁷⁰ His readings of verses from the gospels and the letters of Paul—which have received less scholarly attention than his interpretations of the Old Testament—usually focus on a “plain” sense, though there are examples where Clement teases out a “hidden” or deeper meaning.⁷¹

Later exegetes spoke of four different senses of a scriptural text: the literal or historical plus three mystical or spiritual senses: allegorical (indicating what is to be believed), moral or tropological (how one is to act), and anagogical (relating to the hoped for future blessedness).⁷² It is tempting to see in passages such as *Strom.* I 28, 176 (where Clement speaks of four parts of the “philosophy of Moses”) and *Strom.* I 28, 179 (which says that the meaning of the Law can be understood in four ways) the source of the later formula, or at least as early examples of this classification of four senses of Scripture. But an analysis of these texts by André Méhat shows that the two passages draw on different

68 Paget (“Christian Exegesis,” 494) notes that even though Clement does not share Origen's interest in discussing textual problems, “the occasions in his writing when the literal/historical understanding of a text is taken seriously are surprisingly frequent.”

69 Including apocryphal books such as the Wisdom of Solomon and the Wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach.

70 On *exempla* see especially *Paed.* I 10, 90 and III 2, 12, discussed in Paget, “Christian Exegesis,” 494.

71 See, for example, his exposition of a higher, “spiritual” sense of the beatitudes in Matthew 5 in *Strom.* IV 6, 25–41 and *Strom.* VII 14, 84–88, where he probes a deeper, philosophical sense of Paul's warnings against lawsuits in 1 Corinthians 6. There are also briefer explications of the symbolic meaning of certain New Testament verses, e.g., Clement's suggestion of multiple possible meanings of the reference to the “two or three gathered together” in the name of Christ from Matt 18:20 in *Strom.* III 10, 68–70.

72 See the classic exposition of patristic and medieval exegesis, Henri de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis*, vol. 1: *The Four Senses of Scripture* (trans. Mark Sebanc; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998 [French original: 1959]). On p. 1 De Lubac quotes from Nicholas of Lyra's Introduction to the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113.28) an influential enumeration of these four senses: “The letter teaches events, allegory what you should believe, Morality teaches what you should do, anagogy what mark you should be aiming for.”

sources and do not refer to the same thing, let alone to the later classification of senses. The first reflects the classical division of philosophy into logic (or dialectics), ethics, and physics, and the second is based on Philo's *Life of Moses*, where the reference is to different themes in the Pentateuch.⁷³

Mondésert offers the following summary of the different senses Clement sees in Scripture: 1) historical; 2) doctrinal, including moral, religious and theological senses; 3) prophetic and typological; 4) philosophical, including cosmological and psychological senses; 5) mystic, concerned with the soul's relation to God. While this list is a helpful overview of the various kinds of meaning Clement sees in Scripture, it is not intended as a fixed or hierarchical scheme, but as a classification "from the point of view of the interpreter of Scripture, who is interested in one or another object signified by it, in one or another category of realities suggested by its words."⁷⁴ Schneider explains that for Clement Scripture is concerned with all areas of life and thus a single scriptural text can "adapt" itself to function in various ways. The various senses contained in the Scriptures are evidence of the divine Word's adaptation to human reality in such a way as to foster the progressive development of the individual, even as the history of salvation involves progressive revelation.⁷⁵

Clement speaks frequently of "prophecy," a term whose reference extends beyond the prophetic books to signify the Old Testament more generally. For example in *Strom.* VI 18, 166 he asserts:

Now of the Lord's coming to men to teach us, there were from the beginning—from the foundation of the world (Eph 1:5)—without a doubt countless signalers, heralds, preparers, and forerunners, that intimated in advance through actions and words and prophesied that He would come, and where, and how, what would be the signs.⁷⁶

73 Méhat, "Clément d'Alexandrie et les sens de l'Écriture. Ier *Stromate*, 176.1 et 179.3," in Jacques Fontaine and Charles Kannengiesser (eds.), *Epektasis. Mélanges patristiques offerts au Cardinal Jean Daniélou* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1972), 355–65. See also Schneider, *Theologie*, 140, n. 140 and 168, where he argues that Clement's point in these passages is that the potential meanings of Scripture are limitless ("es geht ihm um den unendlich-fachen Schriftsinn.").

74 Mondésert, *Clément d'Alexandrie*, 155: "Du point de vue de l'interprète de l'Écriture, qui s'intéresse à tel ou tel objet signifié par elle, à telle ou telle catégorie des réalités suggérées par les mots, on peut classer ainsi les sens offerts par l'exégèse de Clément." This statement is found, in a chapter entitled "Les divers sens de l'Écriture, Essai de classement" (pages 153–62). Mondésert's classification is followed by Paget, "Christian Exegesis," 494–7.

75 Schneider, *Theologie*, 140–5.

76 Of the many other examples of "prophecy" in this extended sense, see, e.g., *Paed.* I 7, 59–60 and *Strom.* VII 10, 58, where Ps 24 (23 LXX) is cited and attributed to "David the prophet."

According to Clement the prophetic sense of Scripture is to be found not only in passages that contain future predictions (e.g., Deut 18:15 and Isa 11.1–4, cited in *Paed.* 1 7, 60–61) but also in examples of what modern scholars have called “typology,” which involves taking people, stories, or other aspects of the scriptural record as foreshadowings of Christian realities.

In a series of influential publications Jean Daniélou contrasted “typology” with another kind of non-literal interpretation, practiced for example by Philo of Alexandria, which he called “allegory.” Daniélou discussed this distinction in an article published in 1947.⁷⁷ A year later he defined “typology” as follows:

The object of typology is the research of the correspondences between the events, the institutions, and the persons of the Old Testament and those of the New Testament, which is inaugurated by the coming of Christ and will be consummated with his parousia.⁷⁸

Daniélou contended that “allegory” focused more on the wording of the text than on the events or historical realities to which they referred. In his view Philo’s “allegory,” which focused on symbolic interpretation in terms of cosmological and psychological realities, was not interested in the proper sort of nonliteral referents. In “Typologie et Allégorie chez Clément d’Alexandria,”⁷⁹ Daniélou explored examples of this distinction in the writings of Clement. While he identified here both types of symbolic interpretation, he argued that typology was much more common.⁸⁰

77 Jean Daniélou, “Traversées de la Mer Rouge et Baptême aux premiers siècles,” *RSR* 33 (1946) 402–30.

78 Daniélou, “Qu’est ce-que la typologie?” in P. Auvray et al. (eds.), *L’Ancien Testament et les chrétiens* (Paris: Cerf, 1951), 199–205, here 199. English translation is cited from Peter Martens, “Revisiting the Allegory/Typology Distinction: The Case of Origen,” *J ECS* 16/3 (2008) 283–317, here 286.

79 *SP* 4 (1961) 51–7. Here Daniélou focuses on two texts, *Strom.* v 11, 72, 2 and *Paed.* 11 2, 19, 4. See also the chapter on “Clement of Alexandria as Exegete,” in Daniélou, *Gospel Message and Hellenistic Culture* (J.A. Baker, ed. and trans., London: Darton, Longman & Todd; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1973 [French edition, 1961]), 237–55.

80 In *Gospel Message* (p. 237) Daniélou writes that “in substance the main axis of [Clément’s] exegesis remains the traditional typology, and it is around this that he deploys on the one hand an array of moral and physical symbols borrowed from Philo, and on the other a Gnostic type of exegesis of mixed Alexandrian and Palestinian origin.”

Daniélou's distinction of "typology" and "allegory," which he explored in numerous other studies of "typology" in a wide range of patristic texts,⁸¹ has had much influence in research on patristic exegesis, up until the present. But the sharp distinction he drew between "typology" and "allegory" produced an immediate challenge from Henri De Lubac,⁸² and this challenge that has been reiterated in recent articles by Peter Martens and Bogdan Bucur.⁸³ Schneider also mounts a detailed argument against Daniélou's distinction. He argues that what Daniélou calls "typology" and "allegory" have an essential point in common, viz. that when they compare two levels of meaning (literal and symbolic), the second item is in both cases a *metaphysical* reality. This is true no less for "typology" than for "allegory:" "For in the incarnation the difference between history and metaphysics is dissolved—or expressed from the point of view of symbolism—the man Jesus Christ *is* allegory per se. Carnal sign and metaphysical-cosmic meaning (see Colossians!) are here identical."⁸⁴

The next two sections of this article will not distinguish between "typology" and "allegory" but use the latter term to refer in a general way to Clement's non-literal exegesis. These sections treat, respectively, comparisons of Clement's practice of allegorical reading with that of other textual exegetes in the ancient world, and theories about the purpose of Clement's allegorical interpretation.

5 Comparison of Clement with Other Ancient Exegetes

5.1 *Christian Interpreters*

It is frequently observed that in using non-literal exegesis to unlock the mysteries of sacred texts Clement is adopting a practice widespread in the ancient world. In the chapter on Clement in his *Gospel Message and Hellenistic Culture*,

81 See Martens, "Allegory/Typology," 283–96, for further discussion of Daniélou's views on typology and the extensive debates about the typology/allegory distinction in research on Origen's exegesis.

82 Henri de Lubac, "'Typologie' e 'Allégorisme,'" *RSR* 34 (1947) 180–226.

83 Peter Martens, "Allegory/Typology"; Bogdan Bucur, "The Early Christian Reception of Genesis 18: From Theophany to Trinitarian Symbolism," *J ECS* 23 (2015) 245–72, especially the concluding section (263–72) entitled "What Kind of Exegesis? Inadequacy of Scholarly Categories."

84 Schneider, *Theologie*, 154–8; direct quotation from page 155: "In der Inkarnation ist der Unterschied zwischen Geschichte und Metaphysik eben aufgehoben—oder, aus Sicht des Symbolismus gesprochen: Der Mensch Jesus Christus *ist* die Allegorie schlechthin: Fleischliches Zeichen und metaphysisch-kosmischer (siehe Kolosserbrief!) Sinn sind hier identical."

Jean Daniélou describes the variety in Clement's exegetical comment by comparing his practice with a number of different exegetical traditions: early Christian typology, Philo, Judaeo-Christian apocalyptic, and Hellenistic symbolism, by which he means primarily allegorical interpretations of a cosmological and moral nature.⁸⁵ Daniélou's two essays on Clement's exegesis are especially valuable for the comparisons of examples of Clement's exegesis of specific biblical texts with passages in other early Christian writers, including Barnabas, Justin, Irenaeus, Papias, Ignatius, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Theophilus, Origen, Jerome, and Cyprian.⁸⁶

Other studies have examined affinities of Clement's readings of scriptural texts with those of another group of early Christian exegetes, the followers of Valentinus.⁸⁷ Clement's work, *Excerpts from Theodotus*, attests to his strong interest in the teachings of the Valentinians. Here he provides selections from at least four different Valentinian works, much of which is devoted to scriptural interpretation.⁸⁸ Robert G.T. Edwards investigates how Clement's reading of Gen 1:26–27 relates to Valentinian interpretation, and David Dawson, compares Clement's allegorical exegesis with that of Valentinus and Philo.⁸⁹

5.2 *Philo of Alexandria*

In the case of Clement's Jewish predecessor in Alexandria, Philo, the connection is particularly clear, since it involves literary dependence.⁹⁰ This has been carefully documented in the study of Annewies van den Hoek, *Clement of Alexandria and His Use of Philo in the Stromateis*.⁹¹ Examining critically

85 Daniélou, "Clement of Alexandria."

86 To situate Clement's interpretations of specific biblical texts within early Christian exegetical tradition Daniélou ("Typologie et Allégorie") also makes comparisons with the *Didache*, the *Gospel of Truth*, Valentinian exegesis as described by Irenaeus, and writings of Cyprian, Asterius the Sophist, Jerome, Hilary, Gregory of Nyssa, Pseudo-Athanasius, Gregory of Elvira, and the Manichean Faustus.

87 These include several of my own articles, which will be reviewed in section 7 below.

88 I follow the source analysis in François Sagnard (ed.), *Clément d'Alexandrie, Extraits de Théodote* (SC 23; Paris, 1970), 28–9.

89 Robert G.T. Edwards, "Clement of Alexandria's Anti-Valentinian Interpretation of Gen 1:26–27," *ZAC* 18 (2014) 365–89; David Dawson, *Allegorical Readers*, 183–234. Dawson's treatment of Valentinus is based largely on the *Gospel of Truth*, which he attributes to Valentinus. See section 6 of the present article for a fuller précis Dawson's argument.

90 Paget, "Christian Exegesis," 490, points out that Clement also draws on other Jewish exegetes besides Philo, for example Aristobolus.

91 Leiden: Brill, 1988. See also van den Hoek, "Mistress and Servant: an Allegorical Theme in Philo, Clement and Origen," in L. Lies (ed.), *Origeniana Quarta* (Innsbrucker Theologische

the 300 references to Philo listed in Stählin's index, van den Hoek concludes that there are 125 passages in the *Stromateis* where Clement's debt to Philo's writings is clear and others where it is probable. Philo models for Clement an exegesis of biblical texts, especially passages from the Pentateuch, that has a philosophical orientation and an apologetic aim. Van den Hoek analyzes four large blocks where Clement reworks Philonic material, four shorter sections, and numerous incidental references. The four larger blocks interpret stories of Sarah and Hagar in Genesis 16 and 21 (*Strom.* I 5, 28–32), stories from the life of Moses (*Strom.* I 22, 150–29, 182), various parts of the Mosaic Law (*Strom.* II 18, 78–19, 100), and the tabernacle and priestly vestments described in Exodus 26–28 (*Strom.* V 6, 32–40).⁹² The briefer sections examined by van den Hoek are: *Strom.* II 2, 5–6; 10, 46–52; V 11, 67–68 and 71–74.

Given the plethora of explicit quotations from other ancient authors, it is puzzling that Clement refers to Philo by name only four times. In these passages he calls Philo “the Pythagorean” (*Strom.* I 15, 72; II 19, 100), refers to his *Life of Moses* (*Strom.* I 23, 153), and quotes his symbolic interpretation of the figures of Hagar, Sarah, Isaac,⁹³ Rebecca, and Jacob (*Strom.* I 5, 31).

The Philonic works of which Clement makes the most use are *De posteritate Caini*, *De congressu eruditionis gratia*, *De vita Moysis*, and *De virtutibus*. It appears that in some passages he is following a written copy of Philo's text while in others he is quoting from memory.⁹⁴ Clement's borrowings from Philo include many specific allegorical interpretations such as those of Hagar and Sarah and of the vestments of the high priest, but they are not limited to allegory.⁹⁵ In *Strom.* II 18, 78–19, 100, for example, he follows Philo in defending the Mosaic law by pointing out the benevolence and humanity of various commandments. Both interpreters are concerned to move beyond the “body”

Studien 19; Innsbruck-Vienna: Tyrolia-Verlag, 1987), 344–9; Mondésert, *Clément d'Alexandrie*, 163–83; David Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Literature. A Survey* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1993), 132–56; Fred Ledegang, “The interpretation of the Decalogue by Philo, Clement of Alexandria and Origen,” in G. Heidl and R. Somos (eds.), *Origeniana Nona: Origen and the religious practice of his time* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009) 245–53.

92 For discussion of how Clement interprets these biblical texts see section 7 below.

93 To Philo's description of Isaac as “self-taught” (τὸ αὐτομαθές; *De congr.* 35–37), Clement adds the Christian interpretation of Isaac as a “type” (τύπος) of Christ. See van den Hoek, *Clement of Alexandria*, 37–8.

94 For a general discussion of Clement's methods in using his sources, see van den Hoek, “Techniques of Quotation.”

95 Van den Hoek, *Clement of Alexandria*, 221, counts thirty-five cases where Clement borrows allegorical interpretations from Philo and twenty-five cases where he follows Philonic exegesis that does not involve allegory.

of the text to understand its “soul”. They present the Bible as the best guide for living the life of virtue and for reaching the ultimate vision of truth.

But Clement freely adapts material taken from Philo to the new reality, for which Christ, the divine Logos incarnate, not the Mosaic law or the history of creation, is at the center. Although he has a decidedly positive attitude to the law and uses Philo’s apology for the law to combat Marcion and others who depreciated the Old Testament and its God, Clement subordinates the law to Christ⁹⁶ and on occasion reduces specific laws to their allegorical meaning.⁹⁷

5.3 *Allegorical Interpretation of the Greek Poets*

In a pioneering book on ancient allegory, Jean Pépin considered allegorical interpretation of Homer and other classics by Stoics and other pagan writers as well as Christian responses to it.⁹⁸ Alain Le Boulluec, in the second volume of his *Sources Chrétiennes* edition of *Stromateis* V, in which scriptural exegesis is a central theme, makes many specific comparisons of the interpretive principles that connect Clement’s allegorical reading with those of pagan interpreters such as Cornutus and Plutarch.⁹⁹ For example, commenting on Clement’s statement in *Strom.* V 4, 21 that “all who have spoken of divine things, both barbarians¹⁰⁰ and Greeks, have concealed the first principles,” Le Boulluec observes that Clement here assimilates the concealment he discerns in Scripture to the maxims of the sages, the oracles of Apollo, poetic texts, and Pythagorean symbols: “In combining these words under the rubric of secret language,” Le Boulluec points out, “Clement situates himself in a tradition

96 On this point he found help in Paul’s statement in Galatians 3:24 (*Therefore the law was our instructor (παιδαγωγός) until Christ came.*), which he cites in *Strom.* I 5, 28; I 6, 30–31; I 26, 167; II 7, 35; *Paed.* I 11, 97.

97 For example in a section in which he makes extensive use of Philo’s *De virtutibus*, Clement allegorizes several biblical laws which Philo does not (see *Strom.* II 18, 81, 93, 96–97); van den Hoek, *Clément of Alexandria*, 111–5. For further discussion of how Clement’s approach to the Bible compares with that of Philo, see the article by Marco Rizzi in Part I of the present volume; Rizzi also compares Clement’s exegesis with that of Origen.

98 Jean Pépin, *Mythe et Allegorie. Les Origines grecques et les contestations Judéo-Chrétiennes* (Paris: 21976). Pépin discusses Christian “allegorisme” and Christian responses to pagan “allégorisme,” beginning with the New Testament, in Part 3: 247–474. He treats Clement on pages 265–75.

99 Le Boulluec, *Clément d’Alexandrie. Les Stromates: Stromate V*, vol. 2: *Commentaire, Bibliographie et Index* (SC 279; Paris: Cerf, 1981). See also Le Boulluec, “La rencontre entre l’hellénisme et la ‘philosophie barbare’ selon Clément d’Alexandrie,” in *Alexandrie antique*, 77–89.

100 For Clement the most important representatives of this group are Jews and Christians.

that is clearly attested among the Greeks.”¹⁰¹ In a comment on *Strom.* v 4, 24, where Clement lists Orpheus, Homer, Hesiod and other Greek sages along with the Old Testament prophets as “those who philosophize through hidden meanings,” Le Boulluec notes that Clement here enlists for his own purposes the whole enterprise of allegorical exegesis among the Greeks.¹⁰²

Ilaria Ramelli has devoted considerable attention to the practice of allegorical interpretation in classical antiquity, Philo, and early Christianity. Her book *Allegoria*, vol. 1: *Letà classica*, written in cooperation with Giulio Lucchetta,¹⁰³ gives a comprehensive account of *allegoresis*¹⁰⁴ in the ancient world from Theagenes of Rhegium in the sixth century BCE to Roman allegorists such as Cornutus and Pseudo-Heraclitus in the first and second centuries CE. The book pays particular attention to allegorical interpretation by Stoic philosophers, for whom etymology was especially important, ranging from the old Stoics: Zeno, Cleanthes and Chrysippus, to the Roman Stoics Cornutus and Chaeremon.

101 Le Boulluec, *Stromate V*, vol. 2, 105: “La section qui s'ouvre ici assimile à l'ἐπὶ κρυφίς de l'Écriture celle que les Grecs ont pratiquée dans les sentences des Sages, les oracles d'Apollon, les textes poétiques et les symboles pythagoriciens. L'accord ne concern pas seulement le procédé de l'occultation, mais le sens des formules. En réunissant ces paroles sous le signe du langage secret, Clément se situe dans une tradition clairement attestée chez les Grecs.” In this comment Le Boulluec compares texts from Plutarch, Iamblicus, the Jewish writers Aristobulus and Philo, and the Stoic allegorist Cornutus. Another example is the comparison he makes on 114–6 between pagan commentary on Pythagorean symbols and what Clement says in *Strom.* v 5, 27–31; see also pages 166–72 on pagan interpretations of Egyptian hieroglyphics in relation to Clement's commentary in *Strom* v 7, 41–43. On the latter points see also Pépin, *Mythe et Allegorie*, 268–70.

102 Le Boulluec, *Stromate V*, vol. 2, 109: “Clément reprend ici à son compte tout l'effort de l'exégèse chez les Grecs. Il a retenu les noms les plus prestigieux et les plus communément cités par ceux qui voulaient rappeler l'antique sagesse des poètes et la mettre à profit.”

103 Ilaria Ramelli and Giulio Lucchetta, *Allegoria*, vol. 1: *Letà classica* (Temi metafisici e problemi del pensiero antico 98; series ed. R. Radice; Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2004). This is the first volume of a projected series of three that together will treat the whole history of ancient allegory, from the scholiasts on Homer through late antique pagan and Christian authors. See also Ramelli's two articles in press: “Allegorizing and Philosophizing,” in R. Scott Smith and Stephen M. Trzaskoma (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Mythography* (Oxford: OUP, forthcoming), and “Stoic Homeric Allegoresis,” in Christina-Panagiota Manolea (ed.), *Companion to the Reception of Homer from the Hellenistic Age to Late Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming). See also her edition of Cornutus: *Anneo Cornuto* (Milan: Bompiani, 2003).

104 This term is defined by the book's editor, R. Radice (p. 7), as “a philosophically motivated interpretation of symbols,” in contrast to “allegory” which designates a more “casual and rhapsodic” interpretation of symbols.

Ramelli has also examined the allegorical exegesis of Philo of Alexandria and Origen in relation to pagan *allegoresis*.¹⁰⁵

How Clement's exegesis compares with pagan traditions of allegorical interpretation has received less attention than has his debt to Philo's exegesis. The essays of Le Boulluec and Ramelli in the present volume contribute to filling this gap.¹⁰⁶ Le Boulluec's article examines aspects of Clement's allegorical exegesis that resemble that of pagan interpreters such as Plutarch and Cornutus, including his argument from "comparative mythology" and the fact that he gives symbolic interpretations of ritual acts as well as textual wordings. Ramelli's essay investigates Clement's exegetical terminology and considers the influence of Stoic *allegoresis* of theological myths on Clement's interpretation of Scripture.

6 The Purpose of Clement's Allegorical Exegesis

Other studies seek to clarify the particular character of Clement's allegorical exegesis by identifying the purpose it serves. In *Allegorical Readers and Cultural Revision* David Dawson argues that while Philo, Valentinus, and Clement have a common hermeneutical perspective, they exhibit a striking diversity in how they understand their task.¹⁰⁷ Dawson characterizes their respective purposes as reinscription (Philo), revocalization (Valentinus), and revision (Clement). "Cultural revision" refers to the attempt to alter meanings in a given socio-cultural setting at a specific time and place. Clement's allegorical reading is "revisionist" in that it subordinates the Hebrew and Greek classics to the Christian Scriptures. For Clement, however, the ultimate authority does not reside in a text but in the divine Logos: "When all the world has become the Word's domain, Clement's allegorical reading has reached the limit of its

105 "The Philosophical Stance of Allegory in Stoicism and its Reception in Platonism, Pagan and Christian: Origen in Dialogue with the Stoics and Plato," *International Journal of the Classical Traditions* 18 (2011) 335–71; "Origen and the Stoic Allegorical Tradition: Continuity and Innovation," *Invigilata Lucernis* 28 (2006) 195–226; "Philo as Origen's Declared Model. Allegorical and Historical Exegesis of Scripture," *Studies in Christian-Jewish Relations* 7 (2012) 1–17; "Valuing Antiquity in Antiquity by Means of Allegoresis," in J. Ker and Ch. Pieter (eds.), *Valuing the Past in the Greco-Roman World* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 485–507.

106 See also Ramelli's earlier study, *Mystérion negli Stromateis di Clemente Alessandrino: aspetti di continuità con la tradizione allegorica greca*, in Angela Maria Mazzanti (ed.), *Il volto del misterio. Misterio e religione nella cultura religiosa tardoantica* (Castel Bolognese: Itaa Libri, 2006), 83–120.

107 In *Allegorical Readers* Dawson treats Clement on pages 183–234.

revisionary extravagance.”¹⁰⁸ This sets him apart from the textually centered hermeneutic of Philo and that of Valentinus, where ultimate authority is vested in a personal vision of the divine.

Dawson understands the purpose of Clement’s revisionary reading of cultural classics as related to social struggles: “Although allegorical readers of scripture in ancient Alexandria sought to convince their audiences that they were interpreting the text itself, they were actually seeking to revise their culture through their allegorical reading.”¹⁰⁹ Clement reads Scripture in the context of the struggle of the emerging church led by Demetrius to counteract the appeal of Christian groups engaged in speculative *gnosis*. Through his allegorical reading Clement “sought to define and defend the distinctive boundaries and internal cohesiveness of his own religious group.”¹¹⁰

A quite different approach to the purpose of Clement’s scriptural interpretation is evident in the second part of Ulrich Schneider’s *Theologie als Christliche Philosophie. Zur Bedeutung der biblischen Botschaft im Denken des Clemens von Alexandria*, which focuses on how Clement’s exegesis functions in relation to his understanding of reality.¹¹¹ Schneider champions Clement as a pioneer in Christian *Wissenschaft* and defends Clement’s allegorical interpretation of Scripture as intimately linked to a theological vision that Schneider thinks is still viable today. Clement’s view of Scripture, he argues, is closely correlated with his two overarching theological themes: the providential arrangement of salvation history (*Heilsgeschichte*) for the purpose of redeeming the whole cosmos, and the gradual perfection of the individual, which parallels the cosmic process.¹¹² Allegorical interpretation follows from the realization that all understanding, thinking, and communication builds on linguistic or artistic signs and models.¹¹³ It is for Clement the highest stage of inquiry (*Wissenschaft*), because ultimate reality can only be known through parables, and the Bible is a collection of parables and models. The question with which Clement

¹⁰⁸ Dawson, *Allegorical Readers*, 213.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 235.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 222. On pages 186–99 Dawson considers Clement’s Logos theology which he describes as indebted to Middle Platonism, Philo, and Justin, adding that this teaching assumes a more thoroughgoing importance in Clement’s hermeneutic.

¹¹¹ This is the subject of the middle section of Schneider’s book, pages 124–92, entitled “Die Schriftlehre des Clemens.”

¹¹² Schneider’s presentation of these two themes (in Parts 1 and 3 of his book) is discussed in section 1 above.

¹¹³ Schneider, *Theologie*, 164–5. Schneider sees the same phenomenon in modern natural science: “Von der Wirklichkeit ausgehend, werden Modelle, Gleichnisse, Bilder gesucht bzw. geformt, die geeignet sind, die Wirklichkeit zu beschreiben.” (p. 165).

approaches a biblical text is not, “What is the only correct, original intention of the text?” but rather “In what areas, in relation to what questions, can this parable expand our knowledge?”¹¹⁴ That a biblical text can have more than one meaning is for Clement analogous to the divine adaptation to human beings’ capacity for understanding evident in the different stages of *Heilsgeschichte* and in the progress of the individual from faith to vision of God.

7 Clement’s Interpretation of Specific Biblical Texts

The studies of Mondésert, Paget and Schneider make brief reference to Clement’s interpretation of a large number of specific scriptural texts, and one can learn much from following the biblical references in their footnotes.¹¹⁵ At the end of his book Mondésert suggests that more study is needed in order to understand what Clement’s theology owes to particular Biblical books, what specific biblical verses he cites most often and which are most important to his thought.¹¹⁶ While these questions have not been as prominent in subsequent research as more general discussions of Clement’s hermeneutics and exegetical methods, a number of later studies have taken them up. In these studies more emphasis is put on the biblical text itself and what sort of questions it raised for Clement and his contemporaries, how it challenged them and inspired their theological reflection.

7.1 *Passages from the Old Testament*

In her meticulous discussion of how Clement has adapted his Philonic *Vorlage* van den Hoek compares how these two exegetes interpret numerous biblical texts. She considers the exegesis of the following Old Testament texts in the four larger sections where Clement follows Philo: 1) *Strom.* 1 5, 28–32, where the figures of Sarah and Hagar in Genesis 16 and 21 are taken as symbols of the encyclical studies of Greek *paideia* and Greek philosophy (Hagar), presented as a necessary preparation for understanding biblical wisdom (Sarah);¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Schneider, *Theologie*, 166.

¹¹⁵ See also Mondésert, *Clément d’Alexandrie*, 271–2, for a brief index of a few biblical texts whose interpretation Mondésert regards as particularly significant. It is regrettable that Schneider’s book does not include a Scripture index.

¹¹⁶ Mondésert, *Clément d’Alexandrie*, 252, n. 1. He points out that frequency of citation and importance are not always the same thing.

¹¹⁷ Van den Hoek, *Clement of Alexandria*, 23–47. For summary of van den Hoek’s comparisons of Clement with Philo see above, section 5.

2) the account of the birth of Moses in Exod 2:1–20 discussed in *Strom.* I 23, 151–152 as part of a lengthy account of the life of Moses that aims to demonstrate that he is the embodiment of all virtue and thus that biblical wisdom antedates Greek learning (*Strom.* I 22, 150–29, 180);¹¹⁸ 3) scattered verses from the laws in Exodus through Deuteronomy that show how the laws revealed through Moses foster the four cardinal virtues of courage, self-control, practical wisdom, and justice, as well as many others;¹¹⁹ 4) an allegorical interpretation of the tabernacle and the vestments of the high priest described in Exodus 26–28 in *Strom.* v 6, 32–40, where these are understood as an enigmatic description of how the soul comes to knowledge of God.¹²⁰ Philo's allegory of the tabernacle and its furnishings focuses on revelation of God through the order of the cosmos; Clement follows this interpretation but finds in the text additional references to other modes of revelation, including the incarnation of the Son, the covenants, and the first-created angels. The third part of his exegesis treats the entrance of the high priest into the holy of holies in Lev 16, considering this as an allegory of the ascent of the soul to vision of God. This has no precedent in Philo.

Examples of Mosaic laws discussed in the third of these larger sections include laws forbidding lending money at interest (Exod 22:24; Lev 25:36–37; Deut 23:20; in *Strom.* II 18, 84, 4–5) and mandating kindness to animals (Deut 22:10; 25:4 in *Strom.* II 18, 94, 3–5), both of which Clement understands as illustrations of the benevolence of the divine legislation. In these passages

118 Van den Hoek, *Clement of Alexandria*, 48–68. She traces Philonic influence throughout Clement's long discussion of the story of Moses in *Strom.* I 22, 150–29, 180, although here there is little citation of specific verses from Scripture.

119 In the chapter entitled "The Law and the Virtues," van den Hoek, *Clement of Alexandria*, 69–115, considers the treatment of the following verses from the Mosaic law in *Strom.* II 18, 78–19, 100: Deut 22:5 (*Strom.* II 18, 81, 3–4); Deut 20:5–7 (*Strom.* II 18, 82, 1–83, 1); Exod 22:24; Lev 25:36–37; Deut 23:20 (*Strom.* II 18, 84, 4–5); Lev 19:13; Deut 24:10–11; 14–15 (*Strom.* II 18, 85, 1–2); Lev 19:9–10; 23–22; Deut 24:19–20 (*Strom.* II 18, 85, 3–86, 2); Lev 27:30, 32; Num 18:21, 24 (*Strom.* II 18, 86, 3–4); Exod 23:10–11; Lev 25:3–4 (*Strom.* II 18, 86, 5–6); Exod 23:4; Deut 22:1–3; Exod 22:20; 23:9; Lev 19:33–34; Num 15:14–15 (*Strom.* II 18, 87, 3–88, 1); Deut 23:8 (*Strom.* II 18, 88, 2); Deut 21:10–14 (*Strom.* II 18, 88, 3–89, 2); Exod 23:4–5; Deut 22:1–2 (*Strom.* II 18, 90, 1–91, 1); Exod 21:2; Lev 25:39–43 (*Strom.* II 18, 91, 3); Exod 22:29; Lev 22:27 (*Strom.* II 18, 92, 1–93, 1); Lev 22:28; Exod 23:19; 34:26; Deut 14:22 (*Strom.* II 18, 93, 2–94, 2); Deut 22:10; 25:4 (*Strom.* II 18, 94, 3–5); Deut 20:19–20 (*Strom.* II 18, 95, 1–3); Deut 8:18 (*Strom.* II 18, 96, 3–97, 1); Deut 30:11–14; 26:17 (*Strom.* II 19, 97, 3–98, 2). Also considered here are Clement's use of the story of the Midianite women in Num 25:1–18; 31:1–12 (*Strom.* II 83, 3–84, 1) and two verses from Genesis: Gen 33:11 (*Strom.* II 18, 99, 3) and Gen 23:6 (*Strom.* II 19, 100, 2).

120 Van den Hoek, *Clement of Alexandria*, 116–47.

Clement draws on Philo's *On Virtue*, which is made up of treatises on the virtues of courage, humanity, repentance, and nobility. While Philo does not allegorize the law in this work, Clement often adds a brief allegorical interpretation to Philo's exegesis, for example finding in laws about the proper cultivation of trees in Deut 20:19–20 a lesson about pruning sins and “worthless mental weeds” from the soul (*Strom.* 11 18, 96).¹²¹ Clement also often highlights Old Testament texts that lie behind Philo's reflections on virtue without being cited explicitly, and he adds citations from the New Testament.¹²²

The interpretation of Exodus 26–28 in *Strom.* v 6, 32–40 has also been discussed by Mondésert, Daniélou, and Lilla.¹²³ My own essay on this chapter considers how Clement offers it as an example of true Gnostic exegesis, in response to the flawed exegesis of Valentinian gnostics, and sets Clement's exegesis of Exodus 26–28 in the context of the two main themes of *Stromateis* v, God's absolute transcendence (apophatic theology) and the corresponding necessity for Scripture to conceal the highest truths, which concern God and the unseen higher world.¹²⁴

Several studies have touched briefly on Clement's interpretation of the decalogue in Exodus 20.¹²⁵ A fuller treatment is found in a recent article, “Clement of Alexandria's Gnostic Exposition of the Decalogue,” by Robert G.T. Edwards,¹²⁶ which explores the discussion of Exodus 20 in *Stromateis* VI, chapter 16 (#133–148), one of four extended exegeses contained in the *Stromateis*, one each in Books IV–VII. Noting that the passage is labeled a “gnostic expo-

121 Van den Hoek, *Clement of Alexandria*, 109, cites as further examples of texts where Clement adds brief allegorical interpretations to Philonic material *Strom.* 11 18, 81, 2; 88, 2; 93, 1; 94, 5; 95, 1; 19, 98, 2; 99, 3.

122 Van den Hoek, *Clement of Alexandria*, 110; 108.

123 Mondésert, *Clement d'Alexandrie*, 172–81; Daniélou, *Gospel Message*, 241–6; Lilla, *Clement of Alexandria*, 173–81.

124 Judith L. Kovacs, “Concealment and Gnostic Exegesis: Clement of Alexandria's Interpretation of the Tabernacle,” *SP* 31 (1997) 414–37.

125 Alison G. Salvesen, “Early Syriac, Greek, and Latin Views of the Decalogue,” in Jeffrey P. Greenman and Timothy Larsen (eds.), *The Decalogue through the Centuries: From the Hebrew Scriptures to Benedict XVI* (Louisville, Ky: Westminster John Knox, 2012), 47–66, especially 54–6; Fred Ledegang, “The Interpretation of the Decalogue by Philo, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen,” in György Heidl and Róbert Somos (eds.), *Origeniana Nona: Origen and the Religious Practice of his Time. Papers of the 9th International Origen Congress, Pécs, Hungary, 29 August–2 September 2005* (BETL 228; Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 245–53; Guy Bourgeault, *Décalogue et morale chrétienne: Enquête patristique sur l'utilisation et l'interprétation chrétiennes du décalogue de c. 60 à c. 220* (Montréal: Bellarmin, 1971), 257–64, 397–403; Robert M. Grant, “The Decalogue in Early Christianity,” *HTR* 40.1 (1947), 1–17.

126 *J ECS* 23 (2015), 501–28.

sition,” Edwards emphasizes that it is addressed to the “true Gnostic” and argues that Clement here shows him or her how to uncover the multiplicity of meanings hidden in the Scriptures. In contrast to his interpretation of verses from Exodus 20 in the *Protreptikos and Paidagogos*, Clement provides in this chapter of the *Stromateis* a “didactic” interpretation of the divine commandments, understanding them not as imperatives but as indicatives, that is, as teachings whose main focus is the nature of God and knowledge of him, or *gnosis*. Through a series of hints, Clement models for the true Gnostic how to use Greek learning—especially the “encyclical studies” (τὰ ἐγκύκλια) such as arithmetic, astronomy, and geometry, and also medicine—to uncover the meanings hidden behind the veil in Scripture. This chapter, Edwards argues, shows how closely biblical exegesis is linked with the spiritual progress that culminates in *gnosis*.

Clement’s interpretation of several other verses from the Pentateuch have attracted attention. In *The Spirit of Early Christian Thought* Robert Wilken shows how Clement’s reflections on Gen 1:26–27 in *Strom.* II 22, 131–136 set the Platonic idea of “likeness to God” within a whole new context, as it comes to mean becoming like Christ.¹²⁷ Robert Edwards argues that Clement’s interpretation of Gen 1:26–27 is intended to counter Valentinian exegesis of this passage.¹²⁸ As part of an examination of charges against Clement made by the eighth-century bibliographer Photius, Piotr Ashwin-Siejkowski considers Clement’s interpretations of Gen 6:1–4, a curious account of the “sons of God” mating with human women and begetting “giants.”¹²⁹ Photius reported that in his *Hypotyposes* Clement taught that angels have sex with women and beget children. Ashwin-Siejkowski notes that in *Paidagogos* and *Stromateis* Clement uses Gen 6:1–4 in two ways: to explain the origin of philosophy—which angels stole and imparted to human beings—and as a warning against being led astray by sexual pleasure. Clement’s interest in this story, he concludes, is related to his understanding of Christian perfection as becoming “like the angels.”¹³⁰ While Photius may have been correct about an exegesis of Gen 6:1–4

127 Robert Louis Wilken, *The Spirit of Early Christian Thought* (New Haven: Yale, 2003), 57–61.

128 Robert G.T. Edwards, “Anti-Valentinian Interpretation.”

129 Piotr Ashwin-Siejkowski, “The Sexual Encounters of Angels with Human Women and the Children Conceived,” in *Clement of Alexandria on Trial. The Evidence of ‘Heresy’ from Photius’ Bibliotheca* (VChr Suppl. 101; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 145–58. This criticism by Photius is found in his *Lex.* 109, where he says that Clement offered this teaching in his *Hypotyposes*.

130 Ashwin-Siejkowski, “Sexual Encounters,” discusses *Paed.* III 2, 14, 2 and *Strom.* V 1, 10, 2; VII 2, 6, 4; III 7, 59, 2.

in a work of Clement's that is lost to us, it is important to note that such an interpretation was common in Jewish apocalyptic and early Christian thought.

Clement's understanding of the theophanies in Genesis 18 and Isaiah 6 is examined by Bogdan Bucur, who points out that while in *Paed.* I 7, 56–61 Clement follows a traditional interpretation of these texts as appearances of the divine Logos, he presents a more distinctive view of the divine revelation described in these passages in his more advanced works, the *Stromateis*, *Prophetic Eclogues*, and *Adumbrationes*.¹³¹ This second interpretation reflects his understanding of the heavenly hierarchy as consisting of the divine Logos and three groups of angels. So in *Strom.* V 1, 1, 8, for example, Clement suggests that Abraham saw the Logos mediated through the angelic hierarchy, and in *Strom.* VII 12, 80, 4 and V 6, 35, 3–4 he interprets the seraphim of Isaiah 6 allegorically to refer to the “rest” or perfection of the Gnostic soul. Bucur calls this “internalized apocalyptic,” in which the “cosmic ladder” of the angelic hierarchy is used to describe an interior transformation.¹³²

Sabrina Inowlocki-Meister studies the treatment of the life of Moses in *Strom.* I 23, 151–157, focusing primarily on how and why Clement draws on several other Hellenistic Jewish authors (Artapanes, Pseudo-Eupolemus and Ezekiel the Tragedian) in addition to Philo.¹³³ She argues that Clement's choice of episodes within the biblical narrative (primarily from Moses's pre-Sinaitic period) is motivated by his concern to respond to pagan critiques. Pier Beatrice's investigation of patristic readings of the “spoiling of the Egyptians” in Exod 3:21–22 includes a section on Clement's exegesis of this motif in *Strom.* I 23, 157.¹³⁴

Clement's interpretation of specific Psalms has been the subject of several investigations. Annewies van den Hoek compares Clement's interpretation of Psalm 82 (81 LXX) to that of earlier Christian interpreters, calling particular attention to *Paed.* I 6, 26 and *Strom.* VII 10, 56–57, where verse 6a (*You are gods*)

131 Bogdan G. Bucur, “Clement of Alexandria's Exegesis of Old Testament Theophanies,” *Phronema* 29 (2014) 61–79.

132 Bucur, “Theophanies,” 77–8.

133 Sabrina Inowlocki-Meister, “Le Moïse des auteurs juifs hellénistiques et sa réappropriation dans la littérature apologétique chrétienne. Le cas de Clément d'Alexandrie,” in P. Borgeaud, T. Römer, and Y. Volokhine (eds.), *Interprétations de Moïse. Égypte, Judée, Grèce et Rome* (Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture 10; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 103–31.

134 Pier F. Beatrice, “The Treasures of the Egyptians. A Chapter in the History of Patristic Exegesis and Late Antique Culture,” *SP* 39 (2006) 159–83. Clement is discussed on pages 162–3. In addition to Exod 3:21–3:22, the motif of Israelites’ “spoiling” of the Egyptians also occurs in Exod 11:2–3 and 12:35–36.

figures in Clement's portrayal of the summit of the soul's ascent.¹³⁵ Carlo Nardi and Michel Cambe examine the exegesis of Psalm 19 (LXX 18) in Clement's *Eclogae Propheticae* 51–63, one of the longest extant examples of Clement's scriptural commentary.¹³⁶ Particularly emphasized in Clement's interpretation are verses 2 LXX (*The heavens are telling the glory of God; and the firmament proclaims his handiwork*) and 5b LXX; (*In the sun he pitched his tent*).¹³⁷ In Clement's exegesis, this Psalm describes the heavenly hierarchy of angels—consisting of angels, archangels, and first-created angels (πρωτοκτίστοι)—as well as the future Gnostic Christians will enjoy among the highest angels, in the place where God, symbolized by the sun, has placed his “tent.”

In this section of the *Eclogae* Clement's exegetical method consists largely of an exploration of individual words in the Psalm by comparing their use elsewhere in Scripture, especially in other Psalms and the gospels, which texts suggest to him that “firmament” and “sun” indicate God, “speech” and “day” the Lord (Christ), “night” the devil, and “the heavens” the various ranks of angels. As Cambe points out, however, Clement is open to plural interpretations of specific words.¹³⁸ Cambe compares Clement's method in *Ecl.* 56–57, a section of this exegesis that describes the heavenly ascent of the Gnostic, to that of the Qumran *peshar*, in that he provides new identifications of the actors in the biblical text, focuses on particular words, introduces plays on words, and expresses a conviction that the text refers in a cryptic manner to events of the *eschaton*.¹³⁹ In an appendix to his book Cambe treats the briefer interpretations of Psalm 18 (LXX 17) in *Ecl.* 42–44 and Psalm 20 (LXX 19) in *Ecl.* 64–65.¹⁴⁰

135 Van den Hoek, “I Said, You Are Gods . . .” The Significance of Ps 82 for Some Early Christian Authors,” in Leonard V. Rutgers, Pieter W. Van der Horst et al. (eds.), *The Use of Sacred Books in the Ancient World* (CBET 22; Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 203–19. Clement is discussed on pages 213–8. Van den Hoek follows the numbering of this Psalm in the Hebrew text; in the Septuagint, from which Clement cites, it is Ps 81.

136 Carlo Nardi, “Note di Clemente Alessandrino al Salmo 18: EP 51–63,” *VH* 6 (1995) 9–42; Michel Cambe, *Avenir solaire et angélique des justes. Le psaume 19 (18) commenté par Clément d’Alexandrie* (CahBiPa 10. Strasbourg: Université de Strasbourg, 2009).

137 For the Old Testament Clement cites from the Septuagint, whose numbering is indicated here; this differs from that of the Hebrew text on which English translations are based. In Hebrew this Psalm is numbered 19, and the title is not counted as verse 1, as it is in the LXX, so the verses I quote here are numbered 1 and 4a, respectively. Translations from the LXX are my own.

138 Cambe, *Avenir solaire*, 64–5 (on “heavens” in *Ecl.* 51, 1); 70 (on “day” in *Ecl.* 53, 1); 84 (on the “tent” in the sun in *Ecl.* 56–57).

139 *Ibid.*, 86.

140 *Ibid.*, 181–6.

Despite its title, the *Prophetic Eclogues* contains comments (usually brief) on texts from the New Testament as well as the Old Testament.¹⁴¹ Nardi's edition and commentary on the whole of the *Prophetic Eclogues* discusses Clement's interpretations of numerous other biblical texts including verses from Matthew 5–6, Romans 8, and Colossians 1, as well as Genesis 1, Daniel 3, Psalm 18 (LXX 17) and Psalm 19 (LXX 18).¹⁴²

7.2 *Passages from the New Testament*

7.2.1 Gospels and Catholic Letters

Research on Clement's exegesis of New Testament texts has focused primarily on gospel accounts of Jesus' teaching and the Pauline corpus. Andreas Lindemann examines another of Clement's longer commentaries on a biblical text, the treatment of Mark 10:17–31 in *Who is the Rich Man Who will be Saved?*¹⁴³ In conversation with other interpreters of this work,¹⁴⁴ Lindemann emphasizes that Clement's point of departure is the biblical text, not a question of systematic ethics, and that he offers is a serious exegesis of the story in Mark. Lindemann shows how Clement works through the three scenes of the Marcan pericope verse by verse and considers it in the context of other passages from the gospels. He traces further how Clement's exegesis continues a process of interpretation evident already in Matt 19:13–30 and Luke 18:18–30, as he seeks to unlock the text's meaning and its implications for action in his own time and place.¹⁴⁵

141 On the title *Prophetic Eclogues* see Le Boulluec, "Extraits," especially pages 112–4. In this article Le Boulluec also considers the titles given to *Stromateis* VIII, the *Excerpts from Theodotus*, and the *Hypotypes*.

142 Nardi, *Estratti Profetici*. See scriptural Index on pages 144–7.

143 Andreas Lindemann, "Eigentum und Reich Gottes: Die Erzählung 'Jesus und der Reiche' im Neuen Testament und bei Clemens Alexandrinus." *ZEE* 50 (2006) 89–109.

144 Lindemann's primary dialogue partners are Wolf Dieter Hauschild, "Christentum und Eigentum. Zum Problem eines altkirchlichen 'Sozialismus,'" *ZEE* 16 (1972) 34–49, with whom he disagrees, and Adolf Martin Ritter ("Christentum und Eigentum bei Clemens von Alexandrien auf dem Hintergrund der frühchristlichen 'Armenfrömmigkeit' und der Ethik der kaiserzeitlichen Stoa," in A. Dörfler-Dierken, R. Hennings, and W. Kinzig (eds.), *Charisma und Charis. Aufsätze zur Geschichte der Alten Kirche* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993], 283–307), with whom he largely agrees.

145 Lindemann concludes on page 104: "Es ist besonders merkwürdig, dass Clemens von Alexandria in seiner Schrift über das Verhältnis von 'Reichtum' und ewigem Heil eine Exegese eben dieses biblischen Textes, ja geradezu ein 'Kommentar' verfasst hat, in dem es darum geht, wie die im Markusevangelium erzählte Geschichte gegenwärtig zu verstehen und in konkretes Handeln umzusetzen sei."

Agnès Bastit, in survey of patristic readings of Matt 5:1–10, identifies *Strom.* IV 6, 25–41 as the first interpretation that considers the eight beatitudes as a literary unity, understanding them as expressing progressive degrees in the training of the soul to achieve likeness to God.¹⁴⁶ My own exploration of this passage reads it the context of the main themes of *Stromateis* IV (martyrdom and perfection) and highlights Clement's view that Jesus speaks on two levels, being concerned not only with physical realities such as poverty, hunger, and thirst but also—and primarily—with the purification of the soul and its ascent to the higher, divine realm.¹⁴⁷ This interpretation expands the meaning of the text so that it refers to all Christians, who are called to pursue perfection.¹⁴⁸ Tjitze Baarda considers whether Matt 13:47–48 is the source of Clement's reference to a parable of the fisherman.¹⁴⁹ An article by Michael Mees treats textual variants in Clement's quotations from Matthew.¹⁵⁰

Several other articles that compare patristic interpretations of specific gospel verses contain brief sections on Clement. Elio Perretto treats interpretation of the gospel preached to the poor in Luke 7:22–23 and 6:20.¹⁵¹ Norbert Brox sets Clement's interpretation of Matt 7:7 (*Seek and you will find*) in the context of the interpretations of certain gnostics, Tertullian, and Origen.¹⁵² J. Christopher Edwards, treats two passages where Clement links Mark 10:45/

146 Agnès Bastit, "Les béatitudes matthéennes (Mt 5,1–10) comme péricope dynamique dans l'exégèse ancienne, de Clément d'Alexandrie à Augustin," in Gérard Nauroy and Marie-Anne Vannier (eds.), *Saint Augustin et la Bible. Actes du colloque de l'Université Paul Verlaine-Metz, 7–8 avril 2005* (Bern: P. Lang, 2008), 179–213, on Clement: 187–91.

147 Compare what Clement says in *Quis dives* 5, 1–4 about needing not only to listen to the "carnal," obvious sense of what Jesus says to the rich man in Mark 10:17–31 but also to search out the "divine and mysterious wisdom" hidden therein.

148 Judith L. Kovacs, "Clement of Alexandria and Gregory of Nyssa on the Beatitudes," in Hubertus R. Drobner and Albert Viciano (eds.), *Gregory of Nyssa, Homilies on the Beatitudes* (VChr Suppl. 52; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 31–29. On Clement's interpretations of the Sermon on the Mount in *Strom.* IV 6, 25–41 and elsewhere in his work, see also the article by Veronika Černušková in the present volume, Part 3.

149 Tjitze Baarda, "Clement of Alexandria and the Parable of the Fisherman: Matthew 13:47–48 or Independent Tradition?," in C. Focant (ed.), *The Synoptic Gospels: Source Criticism and the New Literary Criticism* (BETL 110; Leuven: Peeters, 1993), 582–98. Clement is discussed on pages 85, 89–91, and 96–9.

150 Michael Mees, "Das Matthäusevangelium in den Werken des Klemens von Alexandrien," *Divinitas* 12/3 (1968) 675–98.

151 Elio Peretto, "Evangelizzare pauperibus (Lc 4,18; 7,22–23) nella lettura patristica dei secoli II–III," *Aug* 17 (1977) 71–100. Clement is considered on pages 85, 89–91, and 96–9.

152 On Clement's interpretation of this verse in *Stromateis* VIII, see the article by Matyáš Havrda in Part 2 of the present volume.

Matt. 20:28 (*He came to give his life as a ransom for many.*) with the servant motif in Phil 2:6–7, noting that he interprets the gospel verse as referring to the incarnation of the pre-existent Lord.¹⁵³

Bogdan Bucur compares Clement's exegesis of Matt 18:10 (*Take care that you do not despise one of these little ones; for, I tell you, in heaven their angels continually see the face of my Father in heaven.*) with the interpretations of several other patristic authors.¹⁵⁴ Clement identifies the "face" in this text as Christ, the Logos, and the "angels" as the seven *protoktists*, or first-created angels, who are also associated with the Holy Spirit. Clement attributes these traditions about "angels" to certain "elders." Bucur notes that they echo late second-temple Jewish angelological speculation. An earlier discussion of Clement's reading of Matt 10:18 is found in an article by Edward Baert, who considers the role played by this text and a number others from the New Testament (e.g., Matt 5:8; 1 Cor 2:9, and 1 Cor 13:12) in Clement's reflections on the vision of God, a theme that is also prominent in certain gnostic and philosophical texts.¹⁵⁵

As mentioned in section 3 above, Clement's *Adumbrationes* contains Latin translations of four brief verse-by-verse commentaries on sections of 1 Peter, Jude, 1 John, and 2 John. Davide Dainese's extensive introduction to his edition of this work includes summaries of Clement's exegetical argument in each of the four commentaries; he also indicates the wider biblical context of Clement's exegesis by gathering all the biblical citations and allusions. His introduction is followed by a translation with copious notes.¹⁵⁶

153 J. Christopher Edwards, "Pre-Nicene Receptions of Mark 10:45//Matt. 20:28 with Phil. 2:6–8," *JTS* 61 (2010) 194–199. Edwards discusses two passages from Clement, *Paed.* 1 9, 85, 1–2 and *Quis dives* 37, 1–4, and compares Clement's exegesis with those of Origen and the *Acts of Thomas*.

154 Bogdan Bucur, "Matt 18:10 In Early Christology and Pneumatology: A Contribution to the Study of Matthean Wirkungsgeschichte," *NovT* 49 (2007) 209–31 (on Clement: 220–3). Texts from Clement considered include *Strom.* v 14, 91; *Exc.* 10, 6; and 11, 1; also discussed are interpretations by Marcosians (*apud* Irenaeus), the *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies*, Aphrahat, Basil the Great, and Gregory the Great.

155 Edward Baert, "Le thème de la vision de Dieu chez S. Justin, Clément d'Alexandrie et S. Grégoire de Nysse," *FZPhTh* 12 (1965) 439–97 (on Clement: 460–80). Baert seeks to show how Clement's interpretations of the biblical texts has been influenced by Valentinian gnostics and Platonic philosophy.

156 Dainese, *Adombrationi*, "Introduzione," 9–125. Dainese's article in Part 3 of present volume explores further the third comment, which treats a passage from 1 John.

7.2.2 The Pauline Letters

As already indicated, Clement's references to the letters of Paul far outnumber those of any other ancient source. Eric Osborn comments on the prominence of the Pauline letters in Clement's writings: "Every book in the *Stromateis* points to a synthesis of Paul and Plato."¹⁵⁷ Elisa Mascellani considers two brief passages in which Clement cites verses from Rom 5:12–21, a text that figures prominently in later debates about original sin, before turning to Origen's more extensive exegesis of the text.¹⁵⁸ A number of my own articles explore different aspects of Clement's interpretation of Pauline letters.¹⁵⁹ Three of these consider the extent to which his interpretation takes place in conversation with Valentinian exegetes, whose readings of Paul had involved criticism of the Christian majority with whom Clement identified. In an article published in *Origeniana Octava* 1 explore a tradition of interpreting the contrast between "milk" and "meat" in 1 Corinthians 3 that was begun by Valentinian exegetes and then adapted by both Clement and Origen.¹⁶⁰ Whereas in the *Paidagogos* Clement rejects Valentinian construal of Paul's words as a criticism of the Christian majority as foolish "babes," in the *Stromateis* he adapts their interpretation in such a way as to serve his own theology. A second study explores interpretations of Pauline texts in both Valentinian and Clementine sections of the *Excerpts from Theodotus*, showing how Clement responds to Valentinian exegesis of christological passages (e.g., Col 1:15–20 and Phil 2:5–11). The article traces a tradition of interpretation of Paul's image of the church as the "body of Christ" (1 Cor 12 and Rom 12), that began in the Deutero-Paulines Colossians and Ephesians, and was then developed in different directions by Clement and his Valentinian sources.¹⁶¹ A third article considers texts scattered in the *Paidagogos* and *Stromateis*, in which Clement takes issue with Valentinian

¹⁵⁷ Eric F. Osborn, "Paul and Plato in secondary century ethics," *SP* 15/1 (1984) 474–85, here 484.

¹⁵⁸ Elisa Mascellani, *Prudens dispensator verbi. Romani 5, 12–21 nell'esegesi di Clemente Alessandrino e Origene* (Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1990). She treats Clement on pages 5–37, discussing *Strom.* III 9, 64 and IV 3, 9.

¹⁵⁹ I use the phrase "Pauline letters" to refer to a corpus of fourteen letters that was commonly (though not universally) assumed by patristic authors, including Colossians, Ephesians, 2 Thessalonians, the Pastoral letters and Hebrews in addition to the seven letters generally accepted as from Paul by modern biblical scholars.

¹⁶⁰ Judith L. Kovacs, "Echoes of Valentinian Exegesis in Clement of Alexandria and Origen: The Interpretation of 1 Cor 3.1–3," in Lorenzo Perrone (ed.), *Origeniana Octava* (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 317–29.

¹⁶¹ Judith L. Kovacs, "Clement of Alexandria and Valentinian Exegesis in the *Excerpts from Theodotus*," *SP* 41 (2006) 187–200.

interpretation of Romans 3–8 and other texts where Paul contrasts gospel and law, grace and works, sons and slaves, love and fear, which had construed the pairs of contrasting terms to indicate the superiority of the Valentinian elect over ordinary Christians.¹⁶² Here again it is evident that, despite Clement's polemical responses, Valentinian exegesis has had a significant influence on Clement's own reading of the words of the apostle.

In two further studies I investigate other features of Clement's reading of the Pauline letters. In "Was Paul an Antinomian, an Ascetic, or a Sober Married Man?" I trace a series of exegetical debates about the meaning of Pauline texts that run throughout book three of the *Stromateis*. Here Clement takes issue with both antinomian and radical ascetic interpreters who had enlisted the support of Paul for their positions.¹⁶³ My article "Saint Paul as Apostle of *Apatheia*: *Stromateis* VII, chapter 14," examines the one model exegesis in book VII of the *Stromateis*, which concludes the defense of Christians against criticisms from "the Greeks" that takes up the first half of this book. Interpreting Paul's admonition in 1 Corinthians 6 not to initiate lawsuits in pagan courts, Clement argues that when this advice is understood in a deeper way, it is fully consonant with the teaching of Plato and other Greek philosophers as well as that of Jesus.¹⁶⁴

The essays in Part 3 of the present volume add to this earlier research on Clement's exegesis of specific biblical texts. Three of these articles explore his interpretation of particular passages: Veronika Černušková on Clement's interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount, Miklós Gyurkovics on the philosophical problem of "place" in Clement's exegesis of John 1; and Davide Dainese on his exegesis of two passages from 1 John. Others survey his use of entire biblical books: Annewies van den Hoek on Proverbs, Piotr Ashwin-Siejkowski on the Gospel of John, and my own essay on the Pauline epistles. The article by Ilaria Vigorelli in Part 2 considers the influence of John 17:24–26 on Clement's understanding of "relations" within the divinity.

162 Kovacs, "Grace and Works."

163 Judith L. Kovacs, "Was Paul an Antinomian, an Ascetic, or a Sober Married Man? Exegetical debates in Clement of Alexandria's *Stromateis* III," in H.-U. Weidemann (ed.), *Asceticism and Exegesis in Early Christianity* (Leuven: Brepols, 2013), 186–202.

164 Judith L. Kovacs, "Saint Paul as Apostle of *Apatheia*: *Stromateis* VII, chapter 14," in M. Havrda, V. Hušek, and J. Plátová (eds.), *The Seventh Book of the Stromateis. Proceedings of the Colloquium on Clement of Alexandria, Olomouc, October 21–23, 2010* (VChr Suppl. 117; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 199–216. For a précis of earlier research on Clement's exegesis of the Pauline letters, see my article in the present volume, Part 3.

Conclusion

This overview of the role of Scripture in Clement's works and précis of research on his exegesis has endeavored to make clear why Claude Mondésert thought it possible to describe Clement's thought "à partir de l'Écriture"—on the basis of Scripture. While Clement makes significant use of Plato and the teachings of various schools of Hellenistic philosophy, he understands his own teaching as an exposition of the Bible, and his writings are full of quotations from and allusions to Scripture, and ideas based on it. But forming a coherent picture of the presuppositions, methods, content, context, and purpose of Clement's exegesis is difficult because his only scriptural commentary, the *Hypotyposes*, is almost entirely lost, and also because Clement chose to write his most important surviving work, the *Stromateis*, in such an enigmatic and confusing style. The studies surveyed in this essay have laid the groundwork, but more needs to be done in order to appreciate fully Clement's place in the history of Christian exegesis of Scripture. The essays in the present volume of Proceedings seek to contribute to this understanding in a variety of ways.

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PART 1

Clement's Exegetical Methods

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L'interprétation de la Bible et le « genre symbolique » selon Clément d'Alexandrie

Alain Le Boulluec

La plupart des études sur Clément traitent de notre sujet. L'ouvrage de Claude Mondésert reste fondamental¹. Plus récemment, Ulrich Schneider a retracé l'histoire des débats de plus d'un demi-siècle sur le symbolisme mis en œuvre par l'auteur des *Stromates*, à l'intérieur d'un examen très précis et de grande ampleur de sa méthode exégétique². Mon enquête sera donc limitée à quelques aspects, à travers trois questions. Comment le repérage dans la Bible du « genre symbolique » se situe-t-il par rapport aux théories et aux pratiques des interprètes des poètes ? Quelle forme prend la Bible construite par la visée de Clément ? Y a-t-il des éléments autres que le texte scripturaire qui interviennent dans son exégèse³ ? Je ne ferai qu'effleurer des thèmes connexes, comme la thèse des emprunts des Grecs, la conception de « la philosophie barbare », la référence à une tradition secrète.

1 La transformation d'un modèle hellénistique

Clément emploie trois fois l'expression τὸ συμβολικὸν εἶδος en des lieux cruciaux des *Stromates*, lorsqu'il récapitule son programme. Ce « genre symbolique » est présenté comme « de la plus grande utilité, ou plutôt de la plus haute nécessité pour la connaissance de la vérité »⁴. Dans cette formule, le mot εἶδος a pris avant Clément une valeur qui dérive de l'usage de la rhétorique ancienne. Isocrate, par exemple, s'en sert pour désigner un style d'écriture⁵.

1 *Clément d'Alexandrie. Introduction à l'étude de sa pensée religieuse à partir de l'Écriture* (Paris : Aubier, 1944).

2 *Theologie als christliche Philosophie* (Berlin : de Gruyter, 1999), 153-60. Toute la deuxième partie de l'ouvrage (124-192) est consacrée à la doctrine scripturaire de Clément.

3 Mon enquête ne correspondra ainsi qu'au premier degré du programme défini et illustré par Marco Rizzi, « Unity of the Symbolic Domain in Clement of Alexandria's Thought », *SP* 41 (2006) 247-52, qui montre comment le mode d'intellection commun à toutes les formes de contemplation unitive est pour Clément la méthode symbolique, au-delà de l'exégèse scripturaire.

4 *Strom.* II 1, 1, 2; cf. IV 1, 1, 2; VI 2, 4, 2.

5 13, 17 ; cf. 15, 74.

La *Rhétorique à Alexandre* (1, 1) divise la rhétorique en trois couples de εἶδη, en y ajoutant l'ἑξεταστικόν. Si Aristote parle le plus souvent de γένη, il emploie une fois le terme εἶδος⁶ et le mot devient le terme régulier à l'époque impériale, notamment dans les expressions comme εἶδη τῶν λόγων ou εἶδη τῆς ῥητορικῆς. Le flottement persiste cependant⁷, ce qui nous autorise à traduire dans de tels contextes εἶδος par « genre », comme γένος. De cet usage technique des rhéteurs provient la présence du terme dans l'expression τὸ συμβολικόν εἶδος. La formule se trouve chez Plutarque, dans son traité *Les Daidala de Platées* dont des extraits sont conservés par Eusèbe de Césarée⁸. Elle associe dans une forme à déchiffrer actes religieux et mythes. Plutarque écrit en effet : « Ce sont surtout les liturgies d'initiation aux mystères et les rites symboliques des sacrifices (τὰ δρώμενα συμβολικῶς ἐν ταῖς ἱερουργίαις) qui manifestent la pensée des Anciens », et il ajoute : « Ce genre symbolique a une place de choix dans les récits et les mythes (Τοῦτο δὴ τὸ συμβολικόν εἶδος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις καὶ τοῖς μυθοῖς ἐστὶν μᾶλλον) »⁹. Cette double extension, aux rites et aux mythes, se retrouve chez Clément. Elle est illustrée par l'emploi massif, dans ses interprétations, du mot σύμβολον, beaucoup plus fréquent que ἀλληγορία. Σύμβολον peut en effet s'appliquer aussi bien à des paroles, des récits, qu'à des actes ou à des objets. Un autre trait commun à Clément et à Plutarque est la réunion des Grecs et des Barbares dans le recours au « genre symbolique ». Le début du fragment des *Daidala de Platées* est remarquable :

La science de la nature des Anciens, Grecs et Barbares, était un discours de physique caché dans des mythes, le plus souvent une théologie d'allure mystérieuse, dissimulée par des énigmes et des sous-entendus (δι'αἰνιγματῶν καὶ ὑπονοίαις ἐπικρυφός), dans laquelle les choses dites sont, pour la foule, plus claires que les choses tues, et les choses tues plus suspectes que les choses dites. Voilà qui apparaît avec évidence dans les poèmes orphiques et dans les légendes égyptiennes et phrygiennes¹⁰.

6 *Rhet.* I 1358a36.

7 Voir Laurent Pernot, *La rhétorique de l'éloge dans le monde gréco-romain* (Paris : Institut des Études Augustiniennes, 1993), 30-4.

8 *Praep. ev.* III 1; texte commenté par Jean Pépin, *Mythe et allégorie. Les origines grecques et les contestations judéo-chrétiennes* (Paris : Aubier, 1976), 184-8.

9 *Praep. ev.* III 1, 1.3, traduction Edouard des Places, SC 228, 143.

10 *Praep. ev.* III 1, 1, traduction de Pépin, modifiée. Je garde, comme lui, la leçon des manuscrits, σαφέστερα, « plus claires », mais je maintiens, avec E. des Places, le sens courant de ὑποπτότερα, « plus suspectes » (et non pas « plus significatives », selon Pépin). C'est une formulation nouvelle de l'opposition, familière dans de tels contextes, entre les initiés et la foule des profanes. Les uns peuvent accéder au sens profond, les autres

À ces considérations fait écho le passage où Clément précise qu'il doit compléter son exposé du livre v des *Stromates* :

En effet, nous avons établi que le genre symbolique était ancien et qu'il avait été utilisé non seulement par nos prophètes, mais aussi par la plupart des Grecs d'autrefois et par un nombre non négligeable d'autres auteurs chez les Barbares païens¹¹.

Il ajoute aussitôt qu'il faudrait traiter des « mystères ». Plutarque lui aussi en fait un élément essentiel du « genre symbolique ». Au livre v, après avoir donné des exemples illustrant l'« occultation (ἐπίκρυψις) » pratiquée par les Égyptiens¹², Clément avait enchaîné ainsi :

Mais cela n'est pas vrai seulement des plus avisés des Égyptiens : chez les autres Barbares aussi, tous ceux qui ont aspiré à la philosophie ont recherché avec émulation le genre symbolique (τὸ συμβολικὸν εἶδος ἐζήλωσαν)¹³.

Il serait vain d'exposer ici comment la φυσιολογία et, en sa plus fine pointe, la θεολογία, atteintes par l'interprétation des symboles selon Clément, relèvent d'une réflexion bien ancrée dans la philosophie grecque des débuts de l'époque impériale, notamment chez Plutarque. Laura Rizzerio l'a montré à profusion¹⁴. Les importants travaux d'Ilaria Ramelli sur les allégoristes fournissent tous les éléments d'une comparaison fructueuse. Je ne détaillerai donc pas les traits communs aux procédures des allégoristes de cette époque et à l'herméneutique de l'auteur des *Stromates*. Je retiendrai deux aspects seulement, pour marquer les différences : d'une part la référence aux Barbares, de l'autre l'identité de l'instance productrice de la symbolisation.

Clément compose en un siècle où depuis longtemps s'est manifesté l'engouement pour les « sagesses barbares » que les conquêtes d'Alexandre avaient stimulé. Plus près de lui, les promoteurs du « genre symbolique » les ont intégrées à leur programme sous la forme de ce qu'on peut appeler, avec

non seulement en restent à la lettre mais, tenus à l'écart, ont des préventions contre la recherche d'un sens sous-jacent.

11 *Strom.* VI 2, 4, 2, traduction de Patrick Descourtieux, SC 446, 65.

12 *Strom.* V 7, 41, 2-43, 3.

13 *Strom.* V 8, 44, 1, traduction de Pierre Voulet, SC 278, 95.

14 *Clemente di Alessandria e la « φυσιολογία veramente gnostica »*. *Saggio sulle origini e le implicazioni di un'epistemologia e di un'ontologia « cristiane »* (Leuven : Peeters, 1996).

G.R. Boys-Stones, la mythologie comparée, comme l'a fait Cornutus au temps de Néron dans son *Abrégé des traditions de la théologie grecque*¹⁵. Ainsi écrivait-il, pour introduire son exégèse du rappel menaçant de Zeus à Héra dans l'*Iliade* (xv 18-19) :

Qu'il y ait eu sur les dieux des productions de mythes nombreuses et variées chez les anciens Grecs, comme il y en a eu d'autres chez les Mages, d'autres aussi chez les Phrygiens et encore chez les Égyptiens, les Celtes, les Libyens et les autres peuples, on peut en trouver le témoignage par exemple dans la parole dite chez Homère par Zeus à Héra sous ce tour : « As-tu donc oublié le jour où tu étais suspendue dans les airs ? J'avais suspendu à tes pieds deux enclumes »¹⁶.

Ailleurs il signalait l'honneur que rendaient au dieu guerrier Arès « les Thraces et les Scythes et les peuples semblables »¹⁷. Le comparatisme est clairement à l'œuvre dans l'exégèse du mythe de Déméter à la recherche de sa fille ravie par Hadès :

La légende d'Osiris recherché et trouvé par Isis a chez les Égyptiens un sens analogue, de même que chez les Phéniciens celle d'Adonis passant alternativement six mois sur terre et six au-dessous, car le fruit de Déméter est ainsi nommé parce qu'il plaît aux hommes¹⁸.

On sait par ailleurs quel expert en mythologie comparée était Plutarque, comme l'atteste, entre autres, au-delà de ses *Daidala de Platées*, son grand traité *Isis et Osiris*.

L'innovation de Clément consiste à multiplier les exemples d'« occultation » du sens chez les peuples non grecs, pour exalter « la philosophie barbare » et

15 « The Stoics' Two Types of Allegory », dans George R. Boys-Stones (éd.), *Metaphor and Allegory. Classical Studies in Theory and Practice* (Oxford : OUP, 2002), 189-216, ici 202-4.

16 Cornutus, *Nat. d.*, 17, 26 ; Ilaria Ramelli met en relief à juste titre dans son commentaire l'insistance de George R. Boys-Stones sur l'intérêt de Cornutus pour la mythologie comparée, qui pourrait s'inscrire dans la tradition remontant à Posidonius : *Anneo Cornuto. Compendio di teologia greca*, a cura di Ilaria Ramelli (Milano : Bompiani, 2003), 343 ; cf. 96.

17 *Nat. d.*, 21.

18 Cornutus, *Nat. d.*, 28, 54, avec un jeu sur Ἀδωνις et ἀδεῖν, infinitif aoriste homérique de ἀνδάνω, « plaire » ; voir aussi *Nat. d.* 6 (Rhéa assimilée à l'Atargatis des Syriens) ; 14, 18 (les Muses « sont couronnées de palmes (φοίνικι), par homonymie selon certains, du fait que les lettres passent pour être une découverte des Phéniciens »).

pour justifier, aux yeux des Grecs habitués à vanter l'antiquité des pratiques symboliques chez les étrangers, la recherche des « mystères » cachés dans la Loi et les Prophètes, dans les paroles de la Bible et dans les faits et les rites qu'elle contient. La chose est bien connue¹⁹. Je rappellerai surtout le texte déjà évoqué qui présente « la méthode hiéroglyphique » de l'écriture égyptienne comme « en partie symbolique »²⁰. Clément doit peut-être la description à un exact contemporain de Cornutus, Chérémon, à la fois hiérogrammate et stoïcien, alors qu'il n'épouse ni son antijudaïsme forcené ni son souci d'établir l'indépendance de la sagesse égyptienne par rapport à celle des Chaldéens²¹. Il tient au contraire la balance égale entre les Barbares, tout en exploitant les traditions sur les emprunts des Grecs, à seule fin de placer aux origines les « Hébreux », dont la « philosophie » se trouve parée de la plus haute antiquité et de la primauté. Son argumentation, qui présente comme universelle la coutume pour les « théologiens » d'occulter « les principes des choses » et de transmettre la vérité « par des énigmes et des symboles, par des allégories et des métaphores et autres semblables figures »²², étend la documentation fort au-delà de la sphère proprement religieuse dans le cas de certains Barbares, de manière à étoffer la preuve en faveur de l'ἐπίκρυψις. Cette tactique est particulièrement manifeste à l'égard des Scythes. Clément emprunte à Aristocritos la mention d'une lettre du roi des Scythes Atoeas menaçant Byzance d'une attaque militaire en termes imagés²³ et à « Phérécyde de Syros » un message symbolique de visée semblable envoyé par Idanthouras à Darius²⁴;

19 Je me permets de renvoyer à mon article « La rencontre entre l'hellénisme et la "philosophie barbare" selon Clément d'Alexandrie », dans Alain Le Boulluec, *Alexandrie antique et chrétienne. Clément et Origène* (éd. Carmelo G. Conticello ; Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Antiquité 178 ; Paris : Institut des Études Augustiniennes, 2006), 77-89.

20 *Strom.* v 4, 20, 3-21, 3.

21 Chérémon, fr. 2 (Pieter W. van der Horst, *Chaeremon. Egyptian Priest and Stoic Philosopher*, Leiden : Brill, 1984), traduction italienne dans *Allegoristi dell'età classica. Opere e frammenti*, a cura di Ilaria Ramelli (Introduzione di Roberto Radice ; Milano : Bompiani, 2007), 679. Selon la légende retenue par Chérémon, une crue du Nil avait détruit les livres d'astronomie des Égyptiens. Ils surent alors rétablir seuls les bonnes mesures, qui avaient été faussées par les Chaldéens à qui ils avaient été contraints de faire appel. Clément se contente de dire, en *Strom.* i 16, 74, 2 : « Les Égyptiens les premiers firent connaître aux hommes l'astrologie, et de même les Chaldéens ». C'est le fr. 12 de Chérémon qui conserve ses informations les plus précises sur le « cryptage » du discours sur les dieux opéré par les hiérogrammates.

22 *Strom.* v 4, 21, 4.

23 *Strom.* v 5, 31, 3 ; voir le commentaire, SC 279, 133.

24 *Strom.* v 8, 44, 5 ; commentaire, SC 279, 172-3.

il retient aussi l'attitude d'Anacharsis pendant son sommeil comme signifiant la continence²⁵. S'il mentionne l'existence de « philosophes » parmi les Celtes, dans la liste des nombreux peuples barbares chez qui la φιλοσοφία s'est épanouie, il ne dit rien du contenu de cette sagesse²⁶. Il reste que la plupart des exemples choisis, qu'il s'agisse des Grecs ou des Barbares, concernent la φυσιολογία, en ses deux ensembles inextricablement liés, la cosmologie et la théologie, ou bien les dispositions requises pour accéder à la connaissance de leurs objets.

L'important développement sur la diffusion antique de la « philosophie » chez les nations barbares et, plus tard, chez les Grecs, comporte cette assertion capitale : de toutes ces nations

la plus ancienne de beaucoup est le peuple des Juifs, et la philosophie qui chez eux a été mise par écrit a commencé avant la philosophie des Grecs : Philon le Pythagoricien l'a abondamment démontré, de même qu'Aristobule le Péripatéticien et beaucoup d'autres, dont je ne vais pas m'attarder à donner les noms²⁷.

La forme écrite qu'a prise la philosophie chez les Juifs est bien entendu la Bible. En attribuant l'assertion à ses prédécesseurs juifs dont il légitime la compétence philosophique aux yeux des Grecs en les faisant appartenir à des écoles bien connues, Clément authentifie et valorise l'héritage, qu'il revendique pour les chrétiens, du peuple détenteur de la philosophie la plus ancienne²⁸. Quant à la transmission diversifiée de la connaissance, elle suppose un maître originel, qu'il faut chercher plus haut que les anges et que les archanges²⁹. Ce didascale est « le Fils premier-né » :

Unique est l'inengendré, Dieu tout-puissant, et unique aussi est le Premier engendré, *par qui tout a été fait et sans qui rien ne s'est fait* (Jn 1:3) – « Dieu

25 *Strom.* v 8, 44, 5 ; commentaire, SC 279, 173-4. On peut voir toutefois dans l'interprétation retenue, qui affirme la supériorité du devoir de maîtriser sa langue, une illustration de la règle de l'ἐπίτησις, dans le domaine des choses divines.

26 *Strom.* I 15, 71, 4.

27 *Strom.* I 15, 72, 4 ; voir David T. Runia, « Why does Clement of Alexandria call Philo the Pythagorean ? », dans idem, *Philo and the Church Fathers. A Collection of Papers* (VChr Suppl. 32 ; Leiden : Brill, 1995), 54-76.

28 Voir Le Boulluec, « L'identité chrétienne en auto-définition chez Clément d'Alexandrie », dans idem, *Alexandrie antique et chrétienne*, 91-110.

29 *Strom.* VI 7, 57, 2-58, 1.

vraiment est unique, lui qui a créé le commencement de toutes choses »³⁰, écrit Pierre, qui désigne ainsi le Fils premier-né, en comprenant avec perspicacité la phrase : *Au commencement Dieu créa le ciel et la terre* (Gn 1:1). Dès lors, puisqu'il a été appelé « sagesse » par tous les prophètes, c'est lui le Maître de tout l'univers, le *conseiller* (Is 40:13) de Dieu qui, d'avance, a connu toutes choses (cf. Rm 8, 29). C'est lui qui, d'en haut, depuis la première fondation du monde³¹, a été éducateur et donne la perfection de plusieurs manières et sous plusieurs formes (cf. Hb 1:1). C'est donc à bon droit qu'il a été dit : *Ne vous donnez pas le nom de maître sur terre* (cf. Mt 23:8)³².

Cet enseignement nous ramène à la source de la symbolisation. Aussitôt après, en effet, Clément introduit la première forme écrite de la philosophie véritable, la Loi :

Tu vois d'où vient ce qui permet de saisir la vraie philosophie. La Loi a beau n'être qu'une image et une « ombre » de la vérité, elle est, à tout le moins, une ombre de la vérité, tandis que l'amour-propre des Grecs proclame ouvertement que leurs maîtres n'ont été que des hommes³³.

Le motif de « l'ombre (σκία) », emprunté à l'Épître aux Hébreux (8:5 ; 10:1 ; cf. Col 2:17), renvoie aux symboles à éclairer, pour atteindre le sens, au-delà de « l'ombre », par un travail qui fait alors de la Loi un équivalent de la venue ici-bas du Sauveur, comme l'indique ce commentaire donné ailleurs par Clément d'une formule des Lamentations de Jérémie :

... et tous *vivront à son ombre*. Car l'ombre de la gloire du Sauveur – de cette gloire qu'il a auprès du Père – c'est sa Venue ici-bas ; or, l'ombre de la lumière n'est pas ténèbres, mais illumination³⁴.

30 *Pre. Pet.*, fr. 2.

31 Plutôt qu'à Eph 1:4, la référence est à Mt 13:35 citant Ps 77:2, parole sur laquelle Clément fonde sa théorie de l'« occultation » en *Strom.* v 12, 80, 7 et qu'il reprend sous la forme qu'elle a en Mt 13:35, avec la substitution de καταβολῆς à ἀρχῆς et l'addition du complément κόσμου.

32 *Strom.* vi 7, 58, 1-2, traduction de Descourtieux, SC 446.

33 *Strom.* vi 7, 58, 2-3.

34 *Exc.* 18, 2, traduction de François M. Sagnard, SC 23.

L'auteur de la symbolisation propre à l'Écriture est le Monogène lui-même. L'interprète est appelé à discerner un sens qui est déjà là, voulu par le Logos divin. L'intention du cryptage est divine. Parmi une foule d'exemples, retenons un passage de l'exégèse « mystique »³⁵ de l'entrée du grand prêtre dans le saint des saints :

Mais rien de tel que d'écouter le Logos lui-même, qui par l'Écriture donne une intelligence plus pleine. Il parle ainsi : *Il quittera la robe de lin qu'il avait revêtue pour entrer dans le sanctuaire, et il la déposera là. Et il lavera son corps avec de l'eau dans un lieu saint, et il revêtira sa robe* (Lv 16:23-24)³⁶.

L'exégèse découvre dans les gestes du grand prêtre à la fois la venue du Seigneur qui se rend sensible en ce monde et, inversement, la sanctification du croyant, qui revêt l'incorruptibilité³⁷. Chaque fois que Clément proclame : « L'Écriture dit », il a conscience d'introduire la parole du Logos (ou l'expression de l'Esprit)³⁸. En tant que commentateur, il se range ainsi du côté des allégoristes qui attribuent aux poètes, à Homère en particulier, le propos d'occulter la sagesse, de la réserver aux gens studieux et intelligents en la revêtant de tropes, de métaphores, d'allégories, d'énigmes. Telle était la position des premiers à avoir prôné ce genre d'exégèse, pour justifier Homère contre les détracteurs de sa théologie, comme Théagène de Rhégium, et pour deviner chez le poète un enseignement éthique ou physique, comme Anaxagore et son école³⁹. On peut leur appliquer ce que Socrate dit ironiquement des rhapsodes dans sa discussion avec Ion :

C'est pour vous, rhapsodes, une nécessité... de connaître à fond la pensée d'Homère, et non seulement ses vers : sort enviable ! Car on ne saurait être rhapsode si l'on ne comprenait ce que dit le poète. Le rhapsode, en effet, doit être l'interprète de la pensée du poète (έρμηνέα... τοῦ ποιητοῦ τῆς διανοίας) auprès des auditeurs⁴⁰.

35 *Strom.* v 6, 37, 1, à propos du sanctuaire et des vêtements sacrés.

36 *Strom.* v 6, 40, 1-2.

37 *Strom.* v 6, 40, 2-3, avec le commentaire dans SC 279, 165-6.

38 « ... Dieu lui-même », écrit Clément en *Strom.* v 13, 84, 3, « par son Fils, a proclamé les Écritures ».

39 Voir Pépin, *Mythe et allégorie*, 97-101.

40 Platon, *Ion* 530c, traduction de Pépin, *Mythe et allégorie*, 100.

Pour Démocrite, Homère, « un génie divin » par la qualité esthétique de ses poèmes, délivre aussi un message philosophique, comme le rapporte Clément lui-même⁴¹. Le commentaire du poème orphique révélé par le *Papyrus de Derveni* est à cet égard très clair. On y lit ainsi :

Or, Orphée ne voulait pas leur dire des propos voilés par esprit de querelle, mais de grandes choses dans des formules voilées. Il tient ainsi un discours sacré du premier au dernier mot...⁴²

Le vocabulaire de ἀίνυγμα (« énigme », « formule voilée »), avec le verbe correspondant (sous la forme αἰνίζεσθαι dans le commentaire orphique, dont le sujet est Orphée)⁴³ est abondamment utilisé, on le sait, par Clément⁴⁴. L'auteur du poème sacré est de même le sujet de σημαίνει, « il veut signaler »⁴⁵. C'est avec cette conception orphique du dévoilement que Clément est en plein accord, comme il l'est avec la fonction démiurgique du chant d'Orphée, dépassé par le « chant nouveau » du Logos⁴⁶. Il entre aussi en consonance avec l'interprétation mystérique des mythes qui à son époque était marquée par l'exégèse symbolique des néo-pythagoriciens⁴⁷, dont la présence est fortement attestée dans son œuvre⁴⁸.

41 Il est le témoin de cette qualification du poète chez Démocrite : *Strom.* VI 18, 168, 2-3 (« ... comme le dit Démocrite : "Tout ce qu'écrit un poète avec enthousiasme et souffle sacré est d'une grande beauté". Nous savons comment parlent les poètes, mais comment ne pas être frappé de stupeur devant les prophètes du Dieu tout-puissant, qui sont les instruments de la voix divine ? »), et *Protr.* 6, 68, 5 (cf. *Strom.* V 14, 102, 1).

42 Col. VII, 5-8, traduction de Fabienne Jourdan, *Le Papyrus de Derveni* (Paris : Les Belles Lettres, 2003), 7, revue d'après celle de Ramelli, *Allegoristi dell'età classica*, 904-5, qui tient compte des éditions plus récentes du texte.

43 Col. IX, 10 ; X, 11 ; XIII, 6 (« il dit de façon voilée », « indirectement »).

44 Andrew Dinan, « Αἰνυγμα in the Works of Clement of Alexandria », *SP* 46 (2010) 175-80, a rappelé les antécédents de cet emploi massif et mis en lumière la diversité des applications qu'il reçoit chez Clément.

45 Col. XVI, 7.

46 Voir Fabienne Jourdan, *Orphée et les chrétiens*, t. 1, *Orphée, du repoussoir au préfigurateur du Christ. Réécriture d'un mythe à des fins protreptiques chez Clément d'Alexandrie* (Paris : Les Belles Lettres, 2010), 340-58.

47 Rappelons par exemple les propos de Plutarque, affirmant que Pythagore « imita la manière symbolique et mystérieuse » des prêtres égyptiens « en incorporant sa doctrine dans des énigmes ». Voir *Isis et Osiris* 10, 354 E, cité par Luc Brisson, *Introduction à la philosophie du mythe*, t. 1, *Sauver les mythes* (Paris : Vrin, 1996, 2005), 91.

48 À commencer par l'interprétation des « symboles » pythagoriciens, en *Strom.* V 5, 27-30. Dans le seul livre V des *Stromates* la documentation est abondante : 8, 45, 2 (Androcyde

Nous avons déjà vu, sur le premier point, à savoir la référence aux Barbares, des ressemblances entre la doctrine de Clément et celle de Cornutus, dont la qualité de stoïcien est certaine⁴⁹. La similitude apparaît aussi pour ce second aspect. On lit en effet chez Cornutus :

Les Anciens n'étaient pas n'importe qui, mais ils étaient capables de comprendre la nature du monde et enclins à philosopher à son sujet au moyen de symboles et d'énigmes⁵⁰.

On a mis en doute l'existence chez les premiers stoïciens, Zénon, Cléanthe et Chrysippe, d'une théorie et d'une pratique de l'allégorisation. A.A. Long, notamment, a émis à ce sujet les plus grandes réserves⁵¹. Si ses arguments ont amené les historiens récents à nuancer la vision traditionnelle, on ne peut nier, face à la documentation abondante, que les maîtres du Portique aient eu recours à l'allégorie⁵². Il est clair en tout cas que Cornutus et les stoïciens du début de l'époque impériale ont rejoint sur ce point les autres allégoristes, qui reconnaissent aux poètes à la fois le savoir et l'intention de l'exprimer à mots couverts⁵³. Clément, en voyant dans l'Écriture « cryptée » l'intervention du Logos divin, pousse à l'extrême la tendance qui se manifeste tant chez les stoïciens Cornutus et Chérémon que chez les interprètes plus éclectiques comme le Ps.-Héraclite des *Questions homériques* ou le Ps.-Plutarque de *La vie et la poésie d'Homère*.

le pythagoricien, sur les « lettres éphésiennes » ; 47, 1 ; 50, 1 ; 13, 88, 1 ; 14, 99, 3 (à travers Aristobule) ; 100, 6 (Épicharme « pythagoricien ») ; 102, 2 (Pindare « pythagoricien ») ; 115, 4 ; 133, 1 (Théaridas) ; 139, 1 ; peut-être 8, 46, 2-5. La symbolique des nombres y est aussi bien exploitée : *Strom.* v 6, 34, 4-6 ; 35, 6-7 ; 36, 3 ; 37, 1 ; 38, 4 ; 14, 93, 4 ; 107, 1-108, 1.

49 Voir Boys-Stones, « The Stoics' Two Types of Allegory », 202-8.

50 *Nat. d.*, 35, 75.

51 Anthony A. Long, « Stoic Readings of Homer », dans Robert Lamberton, John J. Keaney (éd.), *Homer's Ancient Readers. The Hermeneutic of Greek Epic's Earliest Exegetes* (Princeton University Press, 1992), 41-66.

52 Jean-Baptiste Gourinat, par exemple, a insisté sur la preuve qu'apporte l'exégèse κατά σύμβολον par Chrysippe du mythe de la naissance d'Athéna d'après la *Théogonie* d'Hésiode : « *Explicatio fabularum* : la place de l'allégorie dans l'interprétation stoïcienne de la mythologie », dans Gilbert Dahan et Richard Goulet (éds.), *Allégorie des poètes. Allégorie des philosophes* (Paris : Vrin, 2005), 9-34, ici 12 ; cf. Alain Le Boulluec, « L'allégorie chez les stoïciens », *Poétique* 23 (1975) 301-21 = *Alexandrie antique et chrétienne*, 357-86.

53 C'est le second type d'allégorie stoïcienne que décrit Boys-Stones, art. cit., et dont il indique l'origine. Sur ces sujets, on se reportera à l'examen approfondi de Ramelli dans son introduction à l'*Abrégé* de Cornutus et à son « Saggio integrativo. Breve storia dell'allegoresi del mito » dans *Anneo Cornuto*, 421-549.

2 L'Écriture, entre paroles et rites symboliques

Le « genre symbolique » embrasse d'autres éléments que des paroles et des énoncés textuels, chez Clément comme chez Plutarque et chez les auteurs grecs qui sont à la recherche du sens caché des mythes et des rites cultuels.

Il serait trop long, écrit Clément, de parcourir tous les prophètes et toute la Loi pour rassembler tout ce qui s'y trouve dit par énigmes ; car presque toute l'Écriture présente ainsi ses oracles. Mais à l'adresse de celui qui possède l'intelligence il suffit, à mon avis, pour la démonstration de notre sujet, d'exposer un petit nombre d'exemples⁵⁴.

Il serait de même impossible de commenter tous les passages où il dévoile le sens symbolique d'énoncés scripturaux. Retenons quelques exemples pris dans le livre v des *Stromates*.

L'image de l'engendrement, utilisée par Platon dans le *Banquet* et le *Théétète* pour désigner l'instruction, se retrouve « chez les philosophes barbares », chez qui « enseigner par la parole et illuminer, cela s'appelle *régénérer* » (cf. 1 P 1:3,23) »⁵⁵. Le choix du terme « illuminer » et le contexte de la première Épître de Pierre ajoutent à la métaphore une allusion au baptême et à l'espoir de la résurrection. De même la comparaison entre l'éducateur et l'architecte tire de 1 Co 3:10-13 un autre sens sous-jacent, la distinction entre la foi en Jésus-Christ, l'assise indispensable, et « les édifices de la connaissance », que bâtissent les maîtres inspirés, quand ils le font « avec de l'or, de l'argent, des pierres précieuses », tandis que le « chaume », le « bois » et le « foin » sont « l'apport des hérésies »⁵⁶. La parole de Jérémie 8:7 : « L'hirondelle et la tourterelle, oiseaux des champs, connaissent les temps de leurs entrées », est allégorisée au moyen d'un symbole pythagoricien éclairé par des traditions populaires et mythiques et par des citations de poètes grecs : il s'agit de bannir les calomnies et la cruauté persécutrice et de mettre hors d'atteinte la parole de vérité⁵⁷. L'allégorie peut être aussi inhérente à la structure même du texte, au lieu d'être élaborée par l'interprète ; telle est l'allégorie des « deux voies », sommairement repérée en Mt 7:13-14, Ps 1:1 et dans « la fable de Prodicos de Céos sur la Vertu et le Vice »⁵⁸. Des noms, hébreux ou grecs, présents dans l'Exode

54 *Strom.* v 6, 32, 1 ; cf. 9, 56, 1.

55 *Strom.* v 2, 15, 1-3.

56 *Strom.* v 4, 26, 3-4.

57 *Strom.* v 5, 27, 2-6 ; voir le commentaire, SC 279, 116-8.

58 *Strom.* v 5, 31, 1-2.

(LXX), sont rendus, par l'étymologie, porteurs de messages théologiques⁵⁹. L'ample illustration du « genre symbolique » en usage chez les Égyptiens, les Scythes et les Grecs en *Strom.* v 7, 41-8, 50 aboutit à cette conclusion :

Il n'est donc pas surprenant que la philosophie barbare elle aussi, qui est l'objet de notre discours, prophétise en certains endroits sous une forme secrète et par symboles (ἐπικεκρυμμένως καὶ διὰ συμβόλων), comme on l'a démontré⁶⁰.

Suivent des préceptes alimentaires de Moïse, interprétés dans un sens moral, à la manière de l'auteur de l'*Épître de Barnabé*, avec des inflexions propres à Clément et des références implicites à Héraclite et à Cléanthe, explicites à Ps 17:26-27 et à Théognis, qui densifient le réseau de la polysémie⁶¹. Une parole du cantique de Moïse en Ex 15:1.21 est elle aussi appliquée à la ruine des passions, sur le modèle, cette fois, de l'exégèse philonienne, complétée par une allusion au *Phèdre* de Platon et par la mention du mythe de Phaéton⁶². La lecture de l'épisode de Joseph persécuté par ses frères et jeté dans une citerne (Gn 37:23-24) brode sur l'interprétation allégorique de Philon⁶³. Par association d'idées, les mots de Gn 37:24 font passer à la règle d'Ex 21:33-34 sur les conséquences de la chute « d'un taureau ou d'un âne » dans une citerne. Reliée à la parole d'Is 1:3, la règle devient une mise en garde contre les erreurs dans la divulgation de la connaissance et sur la responsabilité du maître⁶⁴. Plus loin, l'ordre « d'écorcher les holocaustes et de les dépecer par quartiers » (Lv 1:6) se transforme, au moyen d'emprunts à Philon, en enseignement sur le sacrifice authentique, celui de « l'âme gnostique », dépouillée de l'enveloppe des convoitises⁶⁵. Il est nécessaire, dans le discours sur Dieu, de chercher le sens véritable caché dans les « expressions des Hébreux », c'est-à-dire dans l'Écriture :

59 *Cheroubim* en v 6, 35, 6 et 36, 3, *thébôta* en 36, 3, *ephod* et *logion* en 38, 2.

60 *Strom.* v 8, 51, 1.

61 *Strom.* v 8, 51, 2-52, 4 ; voir le commentaire, SC 279, 192-6.

62 *Strom.* v 8, 52, 5-53, 1.

63 *Strom.* v 8, 53, 2-4 ; voir le commentaire, SC 279, 197-8.

64 *Strom.* v 8, 53, 5-54, 4.

65 *Strom.* v 11, 67, 1-4, avec références à la définition platonicienne de la philosophie comme « exercice de la mort » (*Phédon* 67d6-7 ; 80e5 ; 81a1-2) et au silence de cinq ans prescrit par Pythagore à ses disciples.

C'est pourquoi mains, pieds, bouches, yeux, entrées, sorties, colères, menaces, ces expressions des Hébreux ne doivent pas être entendues au sens de passions de Dieu, absolument pas, mais il faut penser que certains de ces noms ont une signification allégorique, plus sainte, ce que nous mettrons en lumière dans la suite de cet exposé, au moment approprié⁶⁶.

Si ses œuvres conservées ne contiennent pas d'exposé systématique sur le sujet, les explications de cette sorte ne manquent pas dans le *Protreptique*, le *Pédagogue* et les *Stromates*⁶⁷. La même obligation et la même promesse sont formulées encore au cœur de la méditation sur les voies menant à la connaissance de Dieu :

Figure, mouvement, repos, trône, lieu, droite, gauche du Père de tous les êtres, il ne faut pas du tout en concevoir l'idée, même si cela est écrit ; le sens qu'indique chacune de ces expressions sera expliqué à l'endroit approprié⁶⁸.

Une réserve analogue concerne les noms divins⁶⁹. Le recours au symbolisme est nécessaire chaque fois que l'énoncé à commenter risque, pris à la lettre, de donner une idée indigne de la notion de Dieu telle que la culture philosophique et la foi chrétienne de Clément la constituent. Nous avons là un cas particulier, mais dont les effets sont d'une importance immense, d'un critère général retenu par les théoriciens et praticiens de l'allégorie, selon lequel « le déclenchement de la lecture allégorique procède... du caractère inacceptable du premier niveau de sens »⁷⁰.

66 *Strom.* v 11, 68, 3.

67 Voir SC 279, 238.

68 *Strom.* v 11, 71, 4 ; voir le commentaire, SC 279, 248.

69 *Strom.* v 12, 81, 5-82, 1 ; voir Alain Le Boulluec, « Les noms divins selon Clément d'Alexandrie et la médiation du Fils », dans O. Boulnois et B. Tambrun-Krasker (éds.), *Les noms divins* (Paris : Cerf, 2016), 139-63.

70 Pierre Chiron, « Aspects rhétoriques et grammaticaux de l'interprétation allégorique d'Homère », dans Dahan et Goulet (éds.), *Allégorie des poètes*, 35-58, ici 55 ; cf. Jean Pépin, « À propos de l'exégèse allégorique : l'absurdité, signe de l'allégorie », *SP* 1 (1957) 395-413 ; Marguerite Harl, « Pointes antignostiques d'Origène : le questionnement impie des Écritures », dans Roelof van den Broek et Maarten J. Vermaseren (éd.), *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions presented to Gilles Quispel* (Leiden : Brill, 1981), 205-17 = eadem, *Le Déchiffrement du sens. Études sur l'herméneutique chrétienne d'Origène à Grégoire de Nysse* (Turnhout : Brepols, 1993), 137-49.

Les Anciens ne limitaient pas l'interprétation symbolique aux paroles, orales ou écrites. Ainsi Chrysippe associait-il aux productions poétiques et mythiques les gestes où il retrouvait aussi le symbole de l'aller et retour de la sensation, de l'intellection et de leur expression verbale, qui va de l'extérieur au centre, organe directeur, le cœur, et du centre à l'extérieur. Ou encore, lorsque le sujet prononce *egô*, par exemple, il fait mouvoir sa lèvre inférieure vers la poitrine et se désigne lui-même par un processus d'appropriation par lequel le mouvement tensionnel du *πνεῦμα* issu de l'hégémonique fait retour à lui⁷¹. Des façons de parler courantes, ou des termes particuliers, qui sont considérés alors moins comme des énoncés que comme des actes symboliques, sont mis de même à contribution⁷². Plus tard un Cornutus a exercé sa sagacité pour dévoiler le sens caché d'images et de cérémonies cultuelles⁷³. Hors du stoïcisme, Plutarque fait de même. On retrouve chez Clément cette ampleur du champ symbolique, tant à propos des Grecs que des Barbares. Les statues des sphinx, portant « énigmatiquement l'image à la fois d'une bête sauvage et d'un homme », symbolisent la justice sévère et la bienveillance de Dieu⁷⁴. Les animaux sculptés en bas-relief sur les temples égyptiens et les statues des processions appartiennent à l'ordre des symboles⁷⁵, de même que les objets envoyés par le Scythe Idanthouras à Darius composent un message à déchiffrer⁷⁶. Clément retient aussi « la roue qui tourne dans les temples des dieux » et « les rameaux qu'on donne aux adorateurs »⁷⁷, ou bien, chez les Romains, les « formalités en usage dans les testaments »⁷⁸. On pourrait

71 Pierre Pachet, « La *deixis* selon Zénon et Chrysippe », *Phronesis* 20 (1975) 141-6.

72 Voir Le Boulluec, « L'allégorie chez les stoïciens », 359-63.

73 Voir I. Ramelli, *Anneo Cornuto*, 32, à propos de *Nat. d.*, 10-2.

74 *Strom.* v 5, 31, 5. Le passage commence ainsi : « C'est encore pour cette raison que les Égyptiens placent à l'avant de leurs temples les statues des sphinges, pour indiquer que le discours sur Dieu est énigmatique et obscur ». Complétée par les remarques introduites en 42, 3, sur la signification de la double nature de « la sphinge » (corps de lion et face d'homme), l'interprétation de ces statues est l'exemple par excellence de l'explication symbolique et rationalisante de la figure du sphinx (ou de la sphinge), telle que l'iconographie du temps la manifeste, à la rencontre des traditions égyptiennes et grecques, comme l'ont montré, sur la base d'une riche documentation, John J. Hermann Jr. et Annewies van den Hoek, « An Egyptian Theological Symbol in Plutarch and Clement of Alexandria », dans Annewies van den Hoek et John J. Hermann Jr., *Pottery, Pavements, and Paradise. Iconographic and Textual Studies on Late Antiquity* (VChr Suppl. 122 ; Leiden : Brill, 2013), 149-75.

75 *Strom.* v 7, 42, 2-43, 3.

76 *Strom.* v 8, 44, 2-4.

77 *Strom.* v 8, 45, 4.

78 *Strom.* v 8, 55, 4.

multiplier les exemples. Clément, lorsqu'il passe à l'Écriture, pour y constater la quasi omniprésence de l'« occultation (ἐπίχρυψις) », consacre de même un long exposé à la signification des éléments du sanctuaire des Hébreux, des vêtements du grand prêtre et du rituel de son entrée dans le saint des saints⁷⁹. Cet exposé est annoncé par une réflexion sur le rôle du « voile » du temple comme emblème de « l'occultation »⁸⁰, au même titre que la partie secrète des sanctuaires égyptiens. Il est esquissé, pour inculquer une notion saine de Dieu, lorsque Clément introduit la décision des Hébreux de « fonder le temple sans statue », en la comparant à la règle « des plus sages des prêtres égyptiens d'installer en plein air la statue d'Athéna » – c'est-à-dire d'Isis⁸¹. Le développement commence par la mention des « sept enceintes » de l'ancien temple⁸², un nouveau symbole de l'occultation, le nombre sept provenant sans doute de l'apocalyptique juive. L'enseignement cosmologique et théologique y est déjà présent, par la brève allusion aux « symboles » que porte la robe talaire du grand prêtre, thème d'origine philonienne⁸³. Cet enseignement succinct signale ensuite le sens caché du rideau et du voile (cf. Ex 26:31-34.36 ; 37:5 LXX), de l'autel des parfums (cf. Ex 30:6), des « quatre colonnes » – les montants du voile (cf. Ex 26:32) –, du chandelier (cf. Ex 25:31-33.37 ; 26:35), de la table d'exposition des pains (cf. Ex 25:30 ; 26:35)⁸⁴. Annewies van den Hoek a étudié la façon dont cet exposé de Clément synthétise et remanie des exégèses de Philon⁸⁵. Le symbolisme du « coffre saint » et des « chérubins » exploite et complète avec la même liberté ce modèle⁸⁶. La présence des Chérubins risque d'enfreindre l'interdit frappant les images, commenté plus haut en lien avec un précepte pythagoricien⁸⁷. La difficulté, comme dans le cas des énoncés scripturaires qui semblent contredire le discours autorisé sur Dieu, est résolue par le passage au sens symbolique : la réalité de la statue est effacée par la

79 L'interprétation de Clément fait partie des documents étudiés par Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra dans son livre *The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity. The Day of Atonement from Second Temple Judaism to the Fifth Century* (WUNT 163 ; Tübingen : Mohr Siebeck, 2003).

80 *Strom.* v 4, 19, 3 (avec référence à Ex 26:33 et Hb 9:3).

81 *Strom.* v 5, 28, 6 ; commentaire dans SC 279, 124-5.

82 La tentative de faire entrer ce trait dans l'élucidation de la structure des *Stromates* faite par Andrew C. Itter, *Esoteric Teaching in the Stromateis of Clement of Alexandria*, (VChr Suppl. 97 ; Leiden : Brill 2009), n'est pas convaincante : voir la recension de Matyáš Havrda dans *Adamantius* 18 (2012), 573-9, ici 576.

83 *Strom.* v 6, 32, 2 ; commentaire dans SC 279, 135.

84 *Strom.* v 6, 32, 3 ; 33, 1-3 ; 34, 4 ; 34, 8-9 ; 35, 3.

85 *Clement of Alexandria and His Use of Philo in the Stromateis* (Leiden : Brill, 1988), 116-47.

86 *Strom.* v 6, 35, 5-36, 3 ; commentaire dans SC 279, 146-50.

87 *Strom.* v 5, 29, 4-6.

signification des éléments figurés qui la composent, c'est-à-dire par la représentation allégorique de la liturgie angélique⁸⁸. La robe du grand prêtre et ses ornements offrent matière à des interprétations analogues, de même que le rituel de l'entrée dans le saint des saints⁸⁹.

On peut se demander cependant si Clément fait une différence entre les paroles à expliquer et les lieux et les objets du culte à examiner. Le temple de l'Exode et les rites qui lui sont associés par l'Écriture sont en effet pour lui les éléments d'un récit plutôt que des réalités tangibles. La question ne se pose pas seulement parce que le sanctuaire ancien a disparu et qu'il n'a de valeur que de figure. Elle est suscitée aussi par sa façon de traiter les objets de la religion chrétienne. Ainsi la croix, décelée par l'allégorie dans l'arbre de vie de Gn 2:9, est surtout le support d'un discours, lui-même enté sur l'Écriture, concernant les symboles du salut qu'elle présente : « Dans ce monde le Logos aussi, devenu chair (Jn 1:14), a fleuri (cf. Ps 91:13) et porté des fruits (cf. Ps 1:3) et il a donné la vie à ceux qui ont goûté sa bonté (cf. 1 P 2:3), puisque ce n'est pas non plus sans l'arbre qu'il est venu se faire connaître à nous : notre vie y a été suspendue (cf. Dt 21:22-23 ; 28:66 ; Ac 5:30 ; 10:39 ; Ga 3:13) pour notre foi »⁹⁰. Au demeurant, Clément nomme la croix « le signe/enseigne du Seigneur (τὸ κυριακὸν σημεῖον) »⁹¹. Il l'associe à la couronne d'épines dans l'exégèse extrêmement complexe de Mt 27:29 dans le *Pédagogue* (II 8, 73-76, 5), qui mêle une multiplicité de valeurs symboliques et de références scripturaires. La croix et la couronne y sont rapportées toutefois à un événement historique présenté comme l'acte salulaire du Seigneur :

En vérité, c'est le symbole du redressement opéré par le Maître, qui a porté lui-même sur son corps, sur sa tête et sur son chef toute notre méchanceté qui nous transperçait comme un aiguillon ; c'est lui, en effet, qui par sa propre Passion nous ayant délivré des pièges, des fautes, et des épines de ce genre et ayant paralysé le diable, s'est avec raison félicité par ces paroles : *O mort, où est ton aiguillon ?* (Os 13, 14 LXX ; cf. 1 Co 15:55)⁹².

88 *Strom.* v 6, 36, 4.

89 *Strom.* v 6, 37, 1-3 ; 38, 2-4 ; 39, 3.

90 *Strom.* v 11, 72, 3.

91 *Strom.* vi 11, 84, 3, sur Gn 14:14-16 ; 87: 2, sur les « trois cents coudées » du « coffre » de Noé ; cf. *Strom.* v 6, 35, 1, sur Ex 25:31. Le terme apparaît aussi chez le gnostique Théodote (*Exc* 42, 2 ; 43, 1). Cette désignation, on le sait, remonte à l'exégèse de « l'enseigne (σημεῖον) » sur laquelle Moïse reçoit l'ordre de placer le serpent de bronze, en Nb 21:8.9 LXX. Voir le commentaire de Gilles Dorival dans *La Bible d'Alexandrie*, t. 4 (Paris : Cerf, 1994), 398-9.

92 *Paed.* II 8, 74, 3 ; traduction de Claude Mondésert, sc 108.

À ce texte fait écho le commentaire de Mc 10:17-21 dans le *Quis dives salvetur* ?:

Qui veut vivre de la vraie vie (cf. Mc 10:17b ; 1 Tm 6:19) reçoit d'abord l'ordre de connaître Celui que personne ne connaît, sinon le Fils et celui à qui le Fils l'aura révélé (cf. Mt 11:27), puis d'apprendre la grandeur du Sauveur qui se manifeste après lui et la nouveauté de la grâce, car, au dire même de l'Apôtre, *la loi a été donnée par Moïse, la grâce et la vérité par Jésus-Christ* (Jn 1:17) ; or, les dons faits par l'intermédiaire d'un serviteur fidèle ne valent pas les présents du fils légitime (cf. Hb 3, 5-6). Si donc la loi de Moïse était capable de donner la vie éternelle, le Sauveur n'a aucune raison de se présenter (cf. Ga 2:21) en personne et de souffrir pour nous en parcourant toutes les étapes de la vie humaine, de la naissance à la croix (cf. Ph 2:8)⁹³.

Cette œuvre salvifique culmine dans l'Ascension, qui parachève à la fois la révélation et l'action divine :

... depuis que le Logos a cessé de donner des lois et de séjourner parmi les hommes, alors le Seigneur est mystérieusement couronné d'épines, il s'en va dans l'au-delà, quittant ce monde-ci où il était descendu, il reprend ainsi ce qui était au commencement de sa première venue ici-bas, afin que le Logos, celui qui avait été vu d'abord à travers le buisson (cf. Ex 3:2), et qui plus tard fut emporté dans les hauteurs par les épines, montre dans tout ce qui s'est passé l'œuvre d'une puissance unique, puisqu'il est unique, du Père qui est unique, lui commencement et fin du temps (cf. Ap 21:6 ; 23:13)⁹⁴.

Or, l'enseignement que dispense ici Clément est de l'ordre de la gnose. Il note en effet : « Mais j'ai passé les limites de la manière du Pédagogue, et je suis entré sur le terrain du Didascale »⁹⁵. Il s'agit donc d'une instruction qui atteint le sens le plus profond de l'Écriture. Ce sens est dominé par la geste du Christ.

93 *Quel riche sera sauvé* ? 8, 1-2 ; traduction de Descourtieux, SC 537.

94 *Paed.* 11 8, 75, 2 ; traduction de Mondésert, légèrement modifiée. L'Ascension commence selon Clément, semble-t-il, par l'élévation sur la croix, symbolisée et anticipée par la « plante épineuse » que serait le « buisson » d'Ex 3:2 (*Paed.* 11 8, 75, 1), la « couronne d'épines » ayant, parmi d'autres traits symboliques, celui d'être placée au sommet, sur la tête du Christ.

95 *Paed.* 11 8, 76, 1.

Il convient alors de se demander quelle Bible est l'objet de la recherche qui relève de ce que Clément appelle « le genre symbolique ».

3 La visée du « genre symbolique » appliqué à l'Écriture et la Bible de Clément

Si nous reprenons le fil de l'exégèse proposée dans le livre v des *Stromates* de la description du temple, des vêtements du grand prêtre et de l'un des rites du jour des Expiations, nous constatons que l'enseignement cosmologique et théologique tiré allégoriquement des textes de l'Ancien Testament est complété par une instruction chrétienne résultant de la mise en relation de ces textes avec des formules du Nouveau Testament ou avec l'événement de la venue du Christ. Étant donné que la structure de ce développement a été parfaitement mise en lumière par Annewies van den Hoek, il suffit ici de reprendre l'expression qu'elle utilise à la fin de son analyse et de désigner quel est « le pôle d'attraction » de l'enquête : la méditation sur « l'économie selon la chair » et sur l'imitation gnostique du Christ, développée enfin sans partage⁹⁶, après avoir été disséminée sous la forme de ce qui apparaît comme des digressions⁹⁷.

Cette clarification produite par la venue du Sauveur impliquerait logiquement la fin de l'occultation. La différence entre Jean, le dernier prophète, et le Sauveur révèle un changement décisif. L'ἐπίκρυψις

est le style (τύπος) de la Loi et des Prophètes jusqu'à Jean (cf. Mt 11:13) ; quant à lui, sans doute il a parlé plus clairement, puisqu'il ne prophétisait plus, mais montrait, déjà présent, celui qui depuis l'origine était annoncé par des symboles ; et pourtant : *Je ne suis pas digne*, dit-il, *de délier la lanière de la sandale du Seigneur* (Mc 1:7). C'est qu'il se reconnaît indigne de baptiser une si haute puissance ; les purificateurs en effet doivent délier l'âme de l'emprise du corps et des péchés de celui-ci, comme le pied de son lien. Peut-être aussi veut-il parler de l'action parfaite du Sauveur sur nous, action immédiate, action par la présence, cachée jusque-là sous l'énigme de la prophétie ; celui qui a montré le prophétisé par la vision directe, qui a manifesté la venue de cette présence qui de loin s'avancait vers la pleine lumière, celui-là a réellement « délié » et mené à leur terme les oracles du plan divin, en dévoilant le sens des symboles⁹⁸.

96 *Strom.* v, 6, 38, 6-40, 4.

97 Voir A. van den Hoek, *op. cit.*, 146-7.

98 *Strom.* v 8, 55, 1-3.

L'enseignement du « divin Apôtre », Paul, est invoqué dans le même sens. Après avoir cité Eph 3:3-5, Col 1:9-11 et 1:25-27, Clément parle des

mystères cachés jusqu'aux apôtres et transmis par eux comme ils les ont reçus du Seigneur – ils étaient restés cachés dans l'Ancien Testament –, mystères qui *maintenant viennent d'être manifestés aux saints* (Col 1:26)⁹⁹.

Ou encore : « Voilà pourquoi l'enseignement a reçu le nom d'*illumination* (2 Co 4:4), car il a produit au jour ce qui était caché ; seul le Maître a ouvert le couvercle du coffre », c'est-à-dire a ôté ce qui dissimulait le sens de l'Ancien Testament¹⁰⁰.

Une relation d'accomplissement, par le dévoilement, s'établit entre l'Ancien Testament et le Nouveau. Elle est illustrée, par exemple, par l'interprétation de Gn 22:3-4, qui christianise de nouveau une exégèse philonienne :

...au troisième jour, l'intelligence discerne les réalités spirituelles (cf. Eph 1:18), car les yeux de l'entendement ont été ouverts par le Maître ressuscité au troisième jour. Les trois jours pourraient être aussi le signe du sceau baptismal, par lequel on croit à celui qui est réellement Dieu »¹⁰¹.

Très souvent Clément précise ou éclaire des paroles de l'Ancien Testament par des paroles du Nouveau. Il arrive même que des citations d'un Prophète soient mises sur le même plan que des expressions des Grecs et que les unes et les autres soient parachevées par un extrait du Nouveau Testament. Ainsi des paroles d'Isaïe sont-elles associées à celles d'Euripide et de Platon pour être confirmées par les propos de Paul dans Actes 17:24-25, présentés comme dignes du Didascale, au sujet de la maison de Dieu et du rejet des sacrifices¹⁰². Il en va de même pour le rapport entre Ex 20:21 et des vers attribués à Orphée, d'une part, et le témoignage de l'Apôtre, en 2 Co 12:2.4, d'autre part, pour évoquer « le caractère indicible de Dieu »¹⁰³. Partout dans les œuvres de Clément se tissent les liens entre la Loi et les Prophètes, l'Ancien Testament, et l'Évangile et les Apôtres, le Nouveau Testament, selon un symbolisme qui oriente la quête

99 *Strom.* v 10, 61, 1.

100 *Strom.* v 10, 64, 4 ; commentaire dans SC 279, 230.

101 *Strom.* v 11, 73, 3 ; commentaire dans SC 279, 251-2.

102 *Strom.* v 11, 74, 5-75, 4 ; dans le superlatif διδασκαλικώτατα (75, 4) on peut lire l'allusion à un enseignement qui est du niveau le plus élevé.

103 *Strom.* v 12, 78, 3-79, 1.

du sens de l'un vers l'autre. La règle opposée aux « hérétiques » vaut au premier chef pour la représentation et l'interprétation des Écritures, pour la Bible de Clément : « La connaissance du Fils et du Père conforme à la règle gnostique, du moins à la vraie, est l'appréhension et le discernement de la vérité à travers la vérité (cf. Jn 14:6-7) »¹⁰⁴; on pourrait gloser ainsi : « de la vérité » qu'est le sens caché « à travers la vérité » qu'est la révélation du Fils. La formulation la plus instructive pour notre sujet apparaît au livre VI des *Stromates*, introduite par Prov 8:9 :

Mais *tout est droit au regard de ceux qui comprennent*, affirme l'Écriture, c'est-à-dire de tous ceux qui reçoivent et conservent fidèlement une explication des Écritures mise en lumière par Lui-même. Or, la règle de l'Église, c'est l'accord à l'unisson de la Loi et des Prophètes avec le Testament transmis lors de la venue du Seigneur¹⁰⁵.

Cette harmonie orientée vers le Christ, vers l'événement de sa venue, ne fait pas pour autant échapper le Nouveau Testament, qui parle de cette venue, à la loi de l'ἐπίκρυψις ni au « genre symbolique ». Le style de la « parabole », propre à l'Ancien Testament d'après Prov 1:5-6¹⁰⁶, caractérise au plus haut point la parole du Seigneur¹⁰⁷. La cohérence du sens à chercher dans les Écritures est en accord avec l'unité de la forme de son discours, voulue par le Sauveur lui-même. Clément l'affirme dans le développement qui précède celui que nous venons de lire, en se référant à Mt 13:34 (*Il a tout dit en paraboles et ne leur disait rien sans parabole*). La cause de l'occultation reste toujours la même : la vérité ne peut être proclamée devant la foule sans précaution ; l'accès à la connaissance exige une initiation et des dispositions pures :

104 *Strom.* V 1, 1, 4 ; commentaire dans SC 279, 15-6 ; cf. *Strom.* VII 16, 94, 5.

105 *Strom.* VI 15, 125, 2-3 ; cf. II, 88, 5 ; 15, 124, 5 ; 18, 165, 1. Schneider, *Theologie als christliche Philosophie*, 172-92, a montré l'importance décisive pour Clément de l'autorité de Mt 13 parmi les justifications, tirées de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament, du recours au « genre symbolique ».

106 Cité en *Strom.* II 2, 7, 1-2 ; V 10, 63, 6 ; voir surtout *Strom.* VI 15, 130, 1-2.

107 Ainsi que tous les écrits du Nouveau Testament. Judith L. Kovacs, « Clement of Alexandria and Valentinian Exegesis in the *Excerpta ex Theodoto* », *SP* 41 (2006) 187-200, en a donné un bel exemple à propos de la manière dont Clément a été stimulé par les interprétations valentiniennes de l'image du « corps du Christ ».

Car ni la prophétie ni le Sauveur lui-même n'ont énoncé les mystères divins tout simplement, pour les mettre à la merci des premiers venus mais ils se sont exprimés en paraboles¹⁰⁸.

Il semble y avoir en outre une correspondance entre la forme cryptique de cette parole et le travail secret qu'elle accomplit dans l'âme qui a su l'accueillir, travail désigné lui-même par une parabole :

Vois aussi la parabole du levain, par où le Seigneur signifie l'enseignement caché : *Le royaume des cieux*, dit-il, *est semblable à du levain, qu'une femme a pris et caché dans trois mesures de farine, jusqu'à ce que toute la pâte ait levé* (Mt 13:33). L'âme en effet, en ses trois parties, est sauvée par son obéissance, soit en vertu de la puissance spirituelle cachée en elle par la foi, soit parce que la force de la parole qui nous a été donnée, concise et efficiente, attire à elle secrètement et invisiblement tout l'homme qui l'a accueillie et gardée au-dedans de soi et amène à l'unité l'ensemble de son être¹⁰⁹.

De telles réflexions de Clément supposent une théorie des relations entre foi et gnose, entre règle de foi « ecclésiastique » et tradition secrète¹¹⁰, les unes et les autres fondées sur l'événement de la venue du Christ¹¹¹. Il est exclu de l'examiner ici. Elle a été souvent étudiée. Il suffit de rappeler un seul texte :

Car c'est rendre à Dieu ce qu'il avait mis en dépôt (cf. 1 Tm 6:20) que de comprendre et de mettre ensemble en pratique sa tradition religieuse, conformément à l'enseignement venu du Seigneur par l'intermédiaire de ses Apôtres¹¹².

Les deux passages que nous venons de lire font porter l'attention sur les effets, dans l'expérience intime de l'individu et dans sa relation avec Dieu, de la réception du message divin actualisé par la présence de « la puissance spirituelle ». Ce niveau de connaissance, qui implique l'unification de la personne sous la

108 *Strom.* VI 15, 124, 6 ; cf. *Strom.* V 12, 80, 4-7, citant 1 Co 2:6-7 ; Col 2:2-3 ; Mt 13:11 ; 13:35, reprenant Ps 77:2.

109 *Strom.* V 12, 80, 8-9.

110 « Sans écrit (ἀγράφως) » (*Strom.* V 10, 62, 1 ; cf. 64, 5).

111 Voir par exemple, dans le même contexte, *Strom.* V 10, 61, 1.

112 *Strom.* VI 15, 124, 4.

motion de l'Esprit et la capacité de s'entretenir avec Dieu d'intellect à intellect¹¹³, paraît se situer au-delà de l'interprétation de l'Écriture, en l'état qui est celui de l'ἐποπτεία, où la symbolisation n'est plus nécessaire, et qui anticipe le « face à face » du monde à venir¹¹⁴. Une telle condition est évoquée par une exégèse allégorique nouvelle de l'entrée du grand prêtre dans le saint des saints, jusqu'à la vision « face à face », quand l'âme, « dépassant l'enseignement angélique et le Nom enseigné par l'Écriture, en vient à la connaissance et à la saisie des réalités »¹¹⁵. La gnose alors atteinte est aussi celle qui a été dispensée à l'origine, par la seule parole¹¹⁶, à une élite ; maintenant, il faut passer par l'exégèse de l'Écriture, gouvernée par l'enseignement du Sauveur ; le résultat est que l'inscription ne se fait plus dans le texte crypté de la Bible, mais dans les cœurs des croyants, où agit « la puissance spirituelle » déjà mentionnée. C'est ce qu'indique la belle interprétation d'Isaïe 8:1-2, en lien avec 2 Co 3:3, donnée dans le livre VI des *Stromates* :

Le prophète Isaïe, de son côté, reçoit l'ordre de prendre un livre nouveau et d'y écrire quelques mots. L'Esprit prophétise ainsi que viendra plus tard, grâce à l'exégèse des Écritures, la connaissance sainte qui, à ce moment-là, ne se trouve pas encore écrite parce qu'elle n'est pas encore connue : au commencement, en effet, elle n'avait été dite qu'à ceux qui pouvaient comprendre. C'est précisément lorsque le Sauveur l'enseigne aux Apôtres que la tradition non écrite de ce qui est écrit (ἡ τῆς ἐγγράφου ἄγραφος... παράδοσις) nous parvient à nous aussi aujourd'hui, inscrite par la puissance de Dieu sur des cœurs¹¹⁷ rendus nouveaux par le renouvellement du livre¹¹⁸.

Nous avons vu que des normes institutionnelles, la « règle » et la « tradition » qui dépendent de la révélation et de l'enseignement du Sauveur, viennent canaliser l'exubérance du symbolisme des Écritures et réduire la prolifération du sens. Il en va encore ainsi pour les rites qui structurent la communauté

113 Comme Clément le dit en *Strom.* VII 7, 43, 3-5.

114 *Strom.* V 11, 74, 1, commentant 1 Co 13:12.

115 *Exc.* 27, 4-5, avec le commentaire de Sagnard, SC 23, 116-9.

116 Parole semblable, sans doute, à celle qu'émet « la voix du Seigneur », en tant que « discours sans contour extérieur (λόγος ἀσχημάτιστος) », lors de « la descente sur la montagne », selon l'exégèse allégorique d'Ex 19:16-19 (et de Dt 4:12) greffée sur les interprétations d'Aristobule et de Philon (*Strom.* VI 3, 32, 3-33, 1 ; 34, 1-3).

117 Cf. 2 Co 3:3.

118 *Strom.* VI 15, 131, 4-5.

de l'Église, comme le baptême. Il est en outre lui-même porteur de symboles multiples. Inversement toutefois, la force de sa signification et sa cohérence ne sont pas indépendantes des images qu'offrent les Écritures à l'herméneute pour développer la valeur de ses traits constitutifs. D'une façon plus discrète et allusive, et plutôt réductrice, la participation à l'eucharistie est soumise par la référence aux métaphores scripturaires à une interprétation qui spiritualise, voire intellectualise le rite, ainsi lorsque Clément découvre dans la « nourriture » dont parle Paul en 1 Co 3:2 « la contemplation de la vision initiatique (ἡ ἐποπτικὴ θεωρία) » : « Voilà les chairs et le sang du Logos (cf. Jn 6:53), c'est-à-dire la saisie de la puissance et de l'essence divines »¹¹⁹.

4 En guise de conclusion : la singularité du « genre symbolique » propre à l'Écriture

Si nous revenons à la comparaison entre la théorie du symbolisme chez Clément et celle de ses contemporains « grecs », nous constatons qu'il pousse à l'extrême deux des tendances qui caractérisent la conception des allégoristes et qui la distinguent de la codification des rhéteurs : l'effacement de l'ornement et la prépondérance du sens second¹²⁰. Les considérations paradoxales de Clément sur le sujet sont bien connues. Il utilise la définition rhétorique du « trope » pour congédier « le parler grec », réduit à l'artifice : « Le trope est en effet une expression qui opère un passage du sens propre à celui qui ne l'est pas, pour un effet artistique et pour l'agrément du style inhérent au discours ». Il oppose aux « changements constitués par les tropes », qui « composent de propos délibéré les cryptages, vers un sens dérivé », et à « l'écart voulu par rapport à l'usage normal », la « parabole », l'une des formes de « la prophétie », qui procède inversement : c'est en effet « un discours qui mène l'homme intelligent à partir de quelque chose qui n'est pas le propre mais qui ressemble au propre, jusqu'à ce qui est vrai et propre, ou bien, comme le disent certains, c'est une expression qui fait comprendre efficacement les choses dites au sens

119 *Strom.* v 10, 66, 2, et la suite, à propos de 1 Co 5:7 (« Notre pâque a été immolée, c'est le Christ ») ; voir André Méhat, « Clément d'Alexandrie », dans Raymond Johanny (éd.), *L'eucharistie des premiers chrétiens* (Paris : Beauchesne, 1976), 101-27.

120 Chiron a mis en relief les différences entre les fins recherchées par les prescripteurs que sont les rhéteurs et les praticiens de l'interprétation allégorique, en se fondant sur le Pseudo-Héraclite, complété par Cornutus et par le Pseudo-Plutarque : « Aspects rhétoriques et grammaticaux de l'interprétation allégorique d'Homère », voir Chiron, « Aspects rhétoriques », 35-58.

propre au moyen d'autres ». Si ces deux définitions dépendent de la rhétorique scolaire, le coup de force de Clément est de distinguer le style de l'Écriture de celui des Grecs en forgeant un contraste entre la parabole biblique et le trope ornemental et d'introduire le « propre » qui, par un jeu sur le mot κύριος, sous-entend la référence au « Seigneur (Κύριος) » et au passage d'un monde à un autre monde¹²¹. Nous retrouvons l'orientation foncièrement christologique de l'exégèse de Clément. Certes, il sait aussi se servir des concepts grecs de « métaphore »¹²² et de « trope »¹²³ pour éclairer la relation entre les niveaux de sens. Il reconnaît en outre l'utilité pour le gnostique de la science rhétorique¹²⁴. Il serait opportun de discerner, dans le détail de sa pratique, le recours implicite aux autres tropes qui régissent les opérations complexes de la signification symbolique¹²⁵. Le souci esthétique n'est pas absent non plus de sa réflexion sur la polysémie du texte biblique, comme l'indique une comparaison justifiant l'ἐπίχρυψις :

Tout ce qui se montre à travers un voile fait apparaître la vérité plus grande et plus auguste, comme ces fruits qui transparaissent sous l'eau, ou ces formes sous des voiles qui leur associent la beauté d'autres reflets¹²⁶.

Mais l'intérêt de Clément pour le « genre symbolique » vise avant tout l'accès à la connaissance des réalités qu'ouvre « le Seigneur » à travers les Écritures, une expérience intellectuelle et spirituelle dont la puissance est figurée par l'application à la venue du Christ du trope par excellence du transfert de sens ou de la conversion, la métaphore :

Le style des Écritures est effectivement de l'ordre de la parabole, car le Seigneur, qui n'était pas du monde¹²⁷, est pourtant venu chez les hommes comme étant du monde. Il a porté sur lui toute la vertu et voulait, par

121 *Strom.* VI 15, 129, 2-3 ; 126, 4 ; 126, 3 ; voir Le Boulluec, « Clément d'Alexandrie et la conversion du "parler grec" », dans idem, *Alexandrie antique et chrétienne*, 61-76.

122 Voir *Paed.* I 7, 53, 2 ; *Strom.* IV 22, 141, 4 ; *Ecl.* 54, 2.

123 *Strom.* III 3, 18, 2 ; extrait des *Hypotyposes* VI, cité par Eusèbe, *Hist. eccl.* II 15 = fr. 9 Stählin. On peut voir aussi les exégèses faisant appel à la notion de « symbole » : *Paed.* I 6, 36, 4, sur 1 Co 3:2 ; *Paed.* II 8, 63, 4, sur Mt 2:11 ; II 10, 83, 4, sur Lv 11:50 ; II 12, 119, 2, sur Mt 13:46.

124 *Strom.* I 9, 44, 4.

125 Comme le fait Chiron, « Aspects rhétoriques », 50-5, en examinant l'exégèse d'Homère chez le Pseudo-Héraclite.

126 *Strom.* V 9, 56, 5 ; voir Le Boulluec, « Voile et ornement : le texte et l'addition des sens selon Clément d'Alexandrie », dans idem, *Alexandrie antique et chrétienne*, 387-99 et 487-8.

127 Cf. Jn 1:9 ; 8:23 ; 12:46 ; 17:14,16 ; 18:36.

la connaissance, élever l'homme, qui vit dans le monde, jusqu'aux réalités intelligibles et premières, en le faisant passer d'un monde à un autre monde ; aussi a-t-il eu recours précisément à l'écriture métaphorique¹²⁸.

L'événement historique et libérateur de la venue du Christ est-il à son tour allégorisé ? Ou bien faut-il y voir *la* clé du « genre symbolique » ? En d'autres termes : le rapport entre les symboles bibliques et les actes du plan providentiel est-il indéfiniment réversible, au point que la révélation tout entière serait une énigme à déchiffrer ? Il semble plutôt que la manifestation visible du Logos dans le monde soit pour Clément le point stable autour duquel s'ordonnent les pouvoirs du « genre symbolique », auxquels la Bible confère leur force la plus grande.

¹²⁸ *Strom.* VI 15, 126, 3, avec le jeu, difficile à rendre, entre « Seigneur (Κύριος) » et κύρια (« propres »), traduit ici par « premières ».

The Mysteries of Scripture: Allegorical Exegesis and the Heritage of Stoicism, Philo, and Pantaenus*

Ilaria L.E. Ramelli

I intend to examine Clement's terminology related to allegorical exegesis of Scripture (μυστήριον first of all, but also αἴνιγμα, τύπος, ἀλληγορία, παραβολή and the like), as well as theoretical and methodological issues related to biblical allegoresis, the influence of Stoic allegoresis of theological myths on Clement's allegoresis of Scripture, and the impact of Philo's biblical allegoresis, and of Pantaenus's scriptural exegesis, on Clement's own spiritual exegesis of the Bible.

1 Clement's Scriptural Allegoresis. The Use of μυστήριον, "Pagan" Mysteries, and the Mysteries of the Logos

Clement's terminology of mystery revolves around the noun μυστήριον, which refers both to "pagan" mystery cults and to the spiritual meanings of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures.¹ References to "pagan" mysteries are especially found in his *Protreptikos* (in particular in 2, 12–23), which takes a positive stance, as far as possible, with regard to Hellenic culture, while in his *Stromateis*, which are mainly devoted to the delineation of the perfect Christian, called the

* I am very grateful to the Editors of this volume for receiving my contribution and to Judith Kovacs for discussing it with me.

1 This term was transliterated into Coptic in the Egyptian cultural milieu, which was also that of Clement, and was used in both "Gnostic" and Manichaean texts. For the Manichaean texts see Nils Anders Pedersen, "The Term μυστήριον in Coptic-Manichaean Texts," in Christian H. Bull, Liv Ingeborg, and John D. Turner (eds.), *Mystery and Secrecy in the Nag Hammadi Collection and Other Ancient Literature: Ideas and Practices. Studies for Einar Thomassen at Sixty* (NHMS 76; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 133–43. For a comparison between Clement and the "Gnostics" with regard to the doctrine of Apokatastasis see my "Apokatastasis in Coptic Gnostic Texts from Nag Hammadi and Clement's and Origen's Apokatastasis: Toward an Assessment of the Origin of the Doctrine of Universal Restoration," *Journal of Coptic Studies* 14 (2012) 33–45. On the lexicon of the mysteries in Clement see Christoph Riedweg, *Mysterienterminologie bei Plato, Philon und Klemens von Alexandrien* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1986).

gnostic²—also in polemic against Valentinianism and other “heresies”—references to “pagan” mysteries are few. What Clement highlights and even seems to appreciate is the secrecy of these cults, which fits very well with his apophatic conception of the divine.³

Clement’s appreciation of “pagan” mysteries was formal and methodological, and clearly did not extend to the “pagan” deities themselves. The purpose of this valuation was mainly to validate the Christian use of mystery terminology and allegoresis. Clement is not interested in endorsing the mysteries in themselves; his intention is apologetic. Clement’s valuation of “pagan” mysteries indeed was similar to Origen’s methodological appreciation of Plato’s myths, which were intended to express symbolically truths concerning mysteries that could not be otherwise expressed.⁴ One can compare, or contrast, Clement’s attitude with that of Augustine, for instance: in *De civitate Dei* 11 26, the latter criticised those who, by means of allegoresis, wanted to defend “pagan” mysteries, myths, and rituals from the charge of impiety and obscenity.⁵ In *Strom.* v 7, 41, 1 Clement values the fact that the Egyptians “did not hand their mysteries to anybody, nor did they divulge the knowledge of divine things among profane people.” In 11 14, 60, 3, Clement underscores the secrecy of Greek mysteries as well, and mentions the charge levelled against Aeschylus of having divulged the mysteries of Dionysus, his trial, and his acquittal in that he was not initiated. In *Strom.* v 11, 70, 7–71, 1 and vii 4, 27, 6, Clement even praises the purification required of those initiated to “pagan” mysteries before they could have access, through the lesser and then the greater mysteries, to contemplation or the activity of ἐποπτεύειν.⁶ This verb is the cognate of the noun ἐποπτεία,

2 See Morton Smith, “The History of the Term Gnostikos,” in Bentley Layton (ed.), *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism. Proceedings of the International Conference on Gnosticism at Yale, New Haven, Connecticut, March 28–31, 1978*, vol. 2, (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 796–807; Walther Völker, *Der wahre Gnostiker nach Clemens Alexandrinus* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1952).

3 See Henny F. Hägg, *Clement of Alexandria and the Beginning of Christian Apophaticism* (Oxford: OUP, 2006); my “The Divine as Inaccessible Object of Knowledge in Ancient Platonism: A Common Philosophical Pattern across Religious Traditions,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 75 (2014) 167–88.

4 See my “The Philosophical Stance of Allegory in Stoicism and its Reception in Platonism, Pagan and Christian: Origen in Dialogue with the Stoics and Plato,” *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 18 (2011) 335–71.

5 See Ilaria Ramelli, “Allegoresis,” in Paul van Geest, David Hunter, and Bert Jan Lietaert Peerbolte (eds.), *Brill Encyclopedia of Early Christianity* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

6 See also *Strom.* I 1,13, 1; 15, 2; IV 1, 3, 1.

which designates, in Clement and Origen, the highest level of philosophy—Christian philosophy.⁷ Clement highlights that in Christianity, too, the path was the same: purification first, and then knowledge/contemplation, which corresponds to the stage of initiation. This succession will be developed by Origen and especially by Evagrius.⁸

In *Strom.* v 11, 71, 2 Clement explicitly assimilates “pagan” mystery purification to Christian confession, which parallels 70, 7, in which he also compares baptism (τὸ λουτρόν) to the lustrations of the pagans. This suggests that the confession meant in 71, 2 was the baptismal confession. And in IV 1, 3, 1 Clement appropriates for the Christians the terminology of initiation to the lesser and greater mysteries.⁹ He also connects mystery to gnosis, in that initiation to mysteries is a high form of knowledge—Origen will remember this when calling the highest part of Christian philosophy “epoptics,” ἐποπτεία, corresponding to theology. In *Comm. Cant.* prol. 3, 2–4, Origen, after speaking of the division of philosophy into *ethica*, *physica*, *logica*, and *epoptica*, posits *epoptica* as the crowning of philosophy. Now, *epoptica* is theology, since it investigates “the divine and heavenly realities” (*de divinis et caelestibus*). Therefore, Origen in his theorisation presented theology as part and parcel of philosophy and at the same time emphasised that theology cannot be studied alone, without philosophical bases. This was already Clement’s position.

In *Strom.* v 9, 57, 3 Clement quotes, with an adaptation, a letter by Lysis to Hipparchus, according to which it is not permitted to reveal “the mysteries (μυστήρια) of the Logos” to the non-initiated. The original had “the mysteries concerning the goddesses of Eleusis.” Clement, therefore, clearly transfers the notion of mysteries, as hidden truths concerning the divinity, from the “pagan” to the Christian world. Likewise, in *Protreptikos* 12, 119, 1 he mentions the “mysteries of the Logos:” “I will show you the Logos and the mysteries (μυστήρια) of the Logos, by describing them to you in images that are familiar to you.” Christ, the Father’s Logos, is indeed “the teacher who educates the ‘gnostic’ with his mysteries (μυστήρια)” (*Strom.* VII 2, 6, 1). The Logos, instead of being opposed to mystery qua rationality, is repeatedly said to be characterised precisely by μυστήρια. Indeed, both the Gospel of John and Origen—who relied in turn on John and Clement—insist at the same time on mystery and on the divine Logos, developing a theology of the Logos, and more specifically a Christology

7 See my “Ethos and Logos: A Second-Century Apologetical Debate between ‘Pagan’ and Christian Philosophers,” *VChr* 69 (2015) 123–56.

8 See Ilaria Ramelli, *Evagrius Ponticus’ Kephalaia Gnostika—Propositions on Knowledge* (Leiden: Brill-Atlanta: SBL, 2015).

9 See also *Strom.* v 11, 70, 6–71, 1; VI 15, 129, 4.

of the Logos.¹⁰ Indeed, Clement himself elaborated a “theology of the Logos as allegorical hermeneutics,” in Dawson’s felicitous definition.¹¹ Actually, Clement actively used both allegory and allegoresis: allegory as a symbolic, metaphorical, covert expression in his own writings, as he explicitly declares in *Strom.* I 1, 15, 1 (“there are also ideas that my writing will indicate allusively (ἀνίπτεισθαι) . . . showing them covertly, indicating them through silence”), a strategy aimed at avoiding revealing the truth to those unworthy of it, just as Scripture itself does; and allegoresis as allegorical exegesis, which Clement applied to Scripture both in entirely exegetical works such as the *Hypotyposeis* and everywhere in other works such as the *Stromateis*.

The simultaneous emphasis on both gnosis and mystery, and on the “mysteries of the Logos”—which are immediately also the mysteries of Scripture, since Scripture is the Logos too—must obviously be read against the backdrop of Clement’s above-mentioned apophatic theology. This is a remarkable point, all the more so in that allegorical exegesis and apophatic theology are the two main topics in *Stromateis* v. A heir of this line will be Maximus the Confessor, who will speak of gnosis of the mysteries (μυστήρια) and their comprehension (*Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 59). The very knowledge or γνῶσις that lies at the core of Clement’s Christian philosophy is in his view nourished by mystery, to the point that mystical knowledge is the highest form of knowledge. This is what the “heretics” (i.e. “gnostics” falsely so called) have been unable to grasp: “Since they have not learnt the mysteries (μυστήρια) of the ecclesiastical knowledge (γνῶσις) . . . they have misunderstood the Scriptures.”¹² “Heresy” and bad scriptural exegesis are closely interconnected. An egregious illustration of this simultaneous emphasis on knowledge and mystery in Clement is *Strom.* v 11, 71, 3, where, after speaking in philosophical terms about analysis and else, he describes the summit of knowledge as “casting ourselves into the greatness of Christ.”

Clement joins the concept of mystery with the philosophical and theological notion of the Logos and relates his idea of Christian mystery to his theory of biblical allegoresis, which aims precisely at finding the spiritual, mystical meanings of Scripture. He does not embrace aspects of mystery cults that he deems shameful, but even with regard to this he sees a continuity between

10 See Mark J. Edwards, “Origen on Christ, Tropology, and Exegesis,” in George R. Boys-Stones (ed.), *Metaphor, allegory, and the classical tradition. Ancient thought and modern revisions* (Oxford: OUP, 2003), 235–56, esp. 245.

11 David Dawson, *Allegorical Readers and Cultural Revision in Ancient Alexandria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 184, 197ff.

12 *Strom.* VII 16, 97, 4.

classical and Christian allegory. Significantly, in *Strom.* v 9, 58, 1 Clement expresses the very same view as the Stoic allegorists, and especially Annaeus Cornutus, did:¹³ the creators of myths hid philosophical truths in them, by means of symbols; these truths must be deciphered through allegoresis. Cornutus, in the age of Nero, in the conclusion of his *Compendium theologiae graecae*, 35, expressed pithily this notion by stating that the ancient creators of myths “were not people of no account, but they were able to express philosophical truths through symbols and enigmata.” So also Clement states: “The founders of the mysteries (μυστήρια), being philosophers, have hidden their doctrines under myths, that they might not be manifest to all.” In this way, Clement appreciated the symbolism of ancient myths and mysteries, exactly as Origen after him appreciated the symbolism of Plato’s myths. Symbolic decoding is the same method that must be applied in scriptural allegoresis, which indeed Clement relates to the concept of “mystery” in most of the occurrences of μυστήριον in his works, often in connection with Pauline quotations.

In this connection, Clement often uses μυστήριον in the sense of “symbol,” for instance in *Strom.* IV 17, 109, 2 and V 11, 73, 2. In the first passage, Clement states that the Lord “provides an introduction to the ‘Gnostic’ symbol (μυστήριον) of the hebdomad and the ogdoad.” Hebdomad and ogdoad belong to “Gnostic” and Hermetic terminology,¹⁴ the former probably symbolising the personal perfection of the believer, the latter the gnostic perfection of a beneficent activity that irradiates onto others. Irenaeus also composed a *De ogdoade*.¹⁵ The lexicon of allegory is present in Clement’s above-quoted passage with ἀνίπτεισθαι, “to allude,” with reference to a symbol that alludes to a certain veiled truth: “With these words, by abstaining from evil and doing good, he alludes to knowledge (γνώσις), teaching how to be perfect in works and words.”¹⁶ In *Strom.* V 11, 73, 2, μυστήριον means again “symbol” in a context of the allegorical exegesis of the sacrifice of Isaac: the three days of Abraham’s travel to the place of the sacrifice of Isaac are interpreted as “the symbol of the baptismal seal, by means of which one believes in the true God.” The symbol of the three days is susceptible of a double exegesis: in reference to the resurrection (a typological reference) or in reference to baptism (a sacramental

13 See my *Anneo Cornuto* (Milan: Bompiani, 2003); Heinz-Günther Nesselrath et al., *Cornutus: Die Griechischen Götter* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009); my *Allegoria*, vol. 1: *Letà classica* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2004); *Allegoristi dell'età classica* (Milan: Bompiani, 2007); “Allegorizing and Philosophizing,” in R. Scott Smith and Stephen M. Trzaskoma (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Mythography* (Oxford: OUP, 2017).

14 See my *Corpus Hermeticum* (Milan: Bompiani, 2005), Appendix.

15 Cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* v 20, 1.

16 Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* v 20, 3.

reference). Indeed, μυστήριον in the sense of “symbol” is employed in a typological sense, not only in Clement and later Origen, but already in Justin,¹⁷ and is also connoted in a sacramental sense. In Greek Patristics, indeed, the sacraments are called μυστήρια, just as in Aphrahat, *Demonstrationes* 1, 17, and in all of the Syriac tradition, the sacraments are called “mysteries,”¹⁸ and like Greek μυστήριον, so also Syriac *razā* has both a sacramental and a typological-symbolic meaning.¹⁹ In both senses, sacramental and typological-symbolic, Greek μυστήριον has a correspondent in Latin *sacramentum*—as is particularly evident from the Latin translations of Scripture.²⁰

Isaac is explicitly represented by Clement as a τύπος of Christ in *Strom.* I 5, 31, 3, in the context of a systematic exegesis of the biblical patriarchs and their wives, in which Clement expressly refers to Philo of Alexandria's etymologising allegoresis of Hagar and Sarah—but Clement draws on Philo also for the Hebrew etymologies of the names Moses, Abraham, Salem, and others.²¹ The use of etymology in allegorical exegesis had a long history in Stoicism, and it was applied to the Bible by Philo. Clement knew both the Stoics' and Philo's etymological allegoresis. Also in the above-cited passage in *Strom.* V 11, 73, 2, Clement in his exegesis was very probably inspired by Philo, *Post.* 6, 17–20, and at the same time by Plato's and the Platonic tradition's conception of the ascent from the sense-perceptible to the intellectual-spiritual level. It is not accidental that Plato is expressly cited in the immediate continuation of the passage, from *Phaedrus* 247c concerning the ὑπερουράνιος place, and *Republic* VII 532ab concerning dialectics:

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- 17 See my “San Giustino Martire: il multiforme uso di μυστήριον e il lessico dell'esegesi tipologica delle Scritture,” in Angela Mazzanti (ed.), *Il volto del mistero. Mistero e religione nella cultura religiosa tardoantica* (Castel Bolognese: Itaca Libri 2006), 35–66.
 - 18 See Edmund Beck, “Symbolum-Mysterium bei Aphrahat und Ephräm,” *Oriens Christianus* 42 (1958) 19–40; Francesco Pericoli Ridolfini, “I sacramenti negli scritti del Sapiante Persiano,” *Studi e ricerche sull'Oriente cristiano*, 2–3 (1979) 157–71.
 - 19 The latter is clear, for instance, in Bardaisan. See my *Bardaisan of Edessa: A Reassessment of the Evidence and a New Interpretation. Also in the Light of Origen and the Original Fragments from De India* (Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 22; Piscataway: Gorgias, 2009), esp. 107–24.
 - 20 See my “*Mysterium* and *Sacramentum* in the Vetus Afra: What differing interpretations by African Patristic Authors Reveal about ‘Paganism’ and Donatism,” in Anthony Dupont, Matthew Gaumer, and Mathijs Lamberigts (eds.), *The Uniquely African Controversy: Studies on Donatist Christianity* (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 349–75.
 - 21 In *Strom.* I 23, 152, 3; II 11, 51, 4; IV 25, 161, 3; V 1, 8, 5–7. On Patristic receptions of the Hebrew Bible, see now Edmon Gallagher, *Hebrew Scripture in Patristic Biblical Theory. Canon, Language, Text* (VChr Suppl. 114; Leiden: Brill, 2012).

The fact that Abraham saw the place [of the sacrifice of Isaac] *from far away* (Gen 22:4) makes sense, because the place of God is hard to conquer. Plato called God “the place of the Ideas,” and from Moses he deduced that it was a place, in that it was able to embrace the whole universe . . . These are Plato’s words: “But also by means of dialectics is it possible to reach an intuition of God, provided that one endeavours to tend, through one’s reason, to what each being is in itself, leaving aside all sense perception, and provided that one does not veer away” from being “before grasping, by means of intellection alone, what is Good itself . . . arriving at the upper limit of the intelligible.”²²

Plato, for Clement, is “the philosopher taught by the Hebrews.”²³ The same position was embraced by Numenius, who famously described Plato as “a Greek-speaking Moses” (see below) and was kept by Origen, who explained the striking convergences between Plato’s ideas and Scripture—especially if read through the lens of philosophical allegoresis—with the hypothesis that Plato was acquainted with the “Jewish philosophy.”²⁴ Likewise, Clement in *Strom.* 1 28, 176, 1–3 deems the metaphysics and philosophy of Plato dependent on “the Mosaic philosophy,” as already Philo called it:

The Mosaic philosophy is divided into four: historical, legislative proper (both of these parts pertain to ethics), liturgical (which already belongs to the theory of nature), and the fourth part, superior to all, namely the theological one: the contemplation, as Plato says, of the really venerable mysteries (μυστήρια). Aristotle calls this part “metaphysics.” Thus dialectics, according to Plato in his *Statesman*,²⁵ is a science that aims at detecting the revelation of being . . . philosophical engagement applied to truth, genuine dialectics examines reality . . . and dares to advance toward the God of the universe.

²² *Strom.* V 11, 73, 3–74, 2.

²³ *Strom.* I 1, 10, 2.

²⁴ Origen, *Cels.* IV 39: “It is not quite clear whether this story [sc. the myth of Poros] occurred to Plato’s mind by chance or, as some believe, during his sojourn in Egypt Plato also ran into people who adhered to the philosophy of the Jews, learnt from them, and then retained some things and altered some others, being careful to avoid offending the Greeks by keeping to the wisdom of the Jews in its entirety and in every respect.”

²⁵ Cf. Plato, *Pol.* 287a.

The “mysteries” of Plato’s theology also apply to Christian theology, which Clement represents as the culmination of the Mosaic philosophy. In *Strom.* v 14, 90, Clement lists some examples of the dependence of Greek philosophy on the Mosaic philosophy, such as Epicurus’s principle of casuality inspired in his view by Eccl 1:2 or Plato’s and others’ ideas about punishments and rewards after death.

In *Strom.* I 1, 13, 1, μυστήρια designates the Christian mysteries concealed in Scripture and constituting the spiritual meanings of the Bible. In the case of these Christian mysteries, Clement praises the same strategy of concealment that he also praises—as I have pointed out—in “pagan” mysteries. The Lord

has allowed *those who can understand* (Matt 19:11–12) to participate in the divine mysteries (μυστήρια) and their holy light. He did not reveal them to many people, because they were not suitable for many, but only for some. . . . What is a mystery, like God, is entrusted to speech, but not to writing. . . . The mysteries are transmitted in a hidden way (κρυπτῶς), that they may remain on the lips of those who speak of them and receive the word.

The very emphasis on the oral transmission of mysteries—which Clement manifests also in reference to the oral transmission of the apostolic doctrine to his revered teacher Pantaenus²⁶—immediately reminds readers of Plato’s preference for the oral word over writing, and his “unwritten doctrines.” The mysterious or encrypted modality of the transmission of mysteries is an allegorical expression of spiritual truths, which justifies allegoresis.

Clement legitimises his own recourse to allegoresis, aimed at finding the mysteries of Scripture, by pointing to Jesus’s use of parables. Thus, in *Strom.* I 1, 2–3 he can link Jesus’s exposition of the truth in parables to the necessity of avoiding the spread of “gnosis” or true knowledge among those who are unworthy of it or unprepared to it:

But if “gnosis” is not for everybody,²⁷ for the uncultured writings are like the lyre for a donkey.²⁸ Indeed, “the swine delight in mud”²⁹ more than in

26 Cf. *Strom.* I 1, 11.

27 Cf. 1 Cor 8:7.

28 See Danuta Shanzer, “The Late Antique Tradition of Varro’s ὄνος λύρας,” *Rheinisches Museum* 129 (1986) 272–85.

29 Heraclitus, 22 B 13 Diels-Kranz; Plotinus *Enn.* I 6, 5; 2 Pt 2:22; cf. Matt 7, 6: *Do not throw pearls to the swine.*

clean water. *This is why*, says the Lord, *I speak to them in parables, that they may not see, even seeing, that they may not hear, even hearing, and may not understand* (Matt 13:13). This does not mean that the Lord produces ignorance in them . . . but he highlights, with the language of a prophet, their present ignorance, and denounces their future incapacity to understand what is said to them.³⁰

Indeed, the polysemic noun *μυστήριον* in Clement also includes the meaning of “parable” (*Strom.* v 12, 80, 7) and occurs again in association with Jesus’s parables. In *Strom.* vi 15, 124, 5–6 Clement reads a Gospel passage in the light of Ps 77:2, which Clement interprets as a reference to Jesus’s use of parables:

The Gospel says that our Lord presented to the apostles his word in a figural way (*ἐν μυστηρίῳ*). For the prophecy regarding him says: *He will open his mouth in parables and will utter the things hidden from the foundation of the world*. Thus, through the parable of the leaven, the Lord manifests the hidden meaning.

In *Strom.* vi 15, 124, 5–6, Clement assimilates Jesus’s parables with the prophets’ prophecies and associates them with the lexicon of allegory:

The Lord says: *Announce from the roofs what is whispered in your ear* (Matt 10:27), that is, in a hidden way and in form of mystery. These are the things about which it is said allegorically (*ἀλληγορικῶς*) that they are whispered in the ear: receive nobly, transmit with a sublime word, and manifest the Scriptures according to the canon of truth.

Allegorical methodology is here attributed to the Gospel itself, not only to classical texts such as those allegorised by the Stoics. Clement wishes to underscore the continuity, albeit being well aware also of the differences (which mainly consisted in the different texts allegorised by the Stoics, “pagan” myths, and the Christians, the Bible):

For neither the prophets nor the Saviour himself exposed the divine mysteries (*μυστήρια*) so easily as to make them understandable to anyone, but they spoke in parables. Indeed, the apostles themselves say of the Lord that he said everything in parables, and nothing without parables. And if *everything was made by means of him, and without him nothing*

30 *Strom.* i 1, 2, 2–3.

was made (John 1:3), then also prophecy itself and the Law were done by means of him, and by him explanations were made of these in parables.³¹

Biblical prophecy is indeed related to the mysteries or the spiritual, hidden meanings (μυστήρια) of Scripture and its symbolic exegesis, connected with the terminology of parables and allusions/riddles (παραβολαί and αινίγματα), in *Strom.* VI 15, 127, 3–128, 1:

All the prophets who had foretold the coming of the Lord and the holy mysteries (μυστήρια) that accompanied him were persecuted and killed, just like the Lord himself, who made their Scriptures manifest.

Citing the *Preaching of Peter*, which he considered to be inspired Scripture, Clement applies the allegorical terminology to biblical prophecy:

We have studied the books of the prophets in our possession. They refer to Christ Jesus sometimes in parables, sometimes by way of allusion / enigmatically, and sometimes in an authentic way and explicitly.³²

Μυστήριον is linked to parables also in *Strom.* VI 15, 126, 2, again in reference to biblical prophecies. Here Clement hammers home the necessity of expressing the highest truths in a figural way, that they may be accessible only to those who pursue the true knowledge or “gnosis:”

Scriptures hide their meaning for many reasons: firstly, in order for us to learn how to investigate and to be always alert, that we may find the words of salvation; secondly, since understanding these truths would not even have been expedient to the totality of humans, that they might not suffer damage by interpreting wrongly what the Holy Spirit had said for our salvation. This is why the sacred mysteries (μυστήρια) / hidden meanings / spiritual meanings of the prophecies, reserved as they are for selected people, among those who are admitted from faith to knowledge (γνώσις), are enveloped in the veil of the parables. The typical trait of Scriptures is parabolic, because also the Lord, who is not of this world, came among the human beings as though he were of the world. Indeed, he represented all virtues, and, by means of true knowledge (“gnosis”), elevated the human being, who had been brought up in the world, toward

31 *Strom.* VI 15, 124, 6–125, 1.

32 *Strom.* VI 15, 128, 1; cf. *Pre. Pet.* Fr. 9 (Cambe).

the intelligible realities: *a transfer from a world to another world*. So also the Scripture he used was allegorical, metaphorical, figural. Indeed, the parable is a kind of discourse that brings the person who understands it from a meaning that is not proper, but similar to the proper meaning, to the truth and the proper meaning . . . and the prophetic announcement of the whole economy of the Lord reveals itself, to those who have not known the truth, as a real parable.

Clement applies here the allegorical-figural language of Scripture directly to Christ himself and his “translational” effect upon his follower, who is also a reader of the Bible: in all cases, a transfer of levels and meanings is at work, and behind it lies the broadly Platonic distinction between the sense-perceptible plane and the intelligible one. Origen will follow in Clement’s footsteps in this regard.³³

Allegoresis is the key to Scripture and therefore a pivotal part of Christian philosophy—which is based on Scripture and its correct, i.e. “philosophical,” interpretation—just as it was a core part of Stoic and Platonic philosophy.³⁴ This must be seen within the broader second-third-century context in which Christianity was positing itself, in many ways, as a philosophy.³⁵ As Clement himself remarks,³⁶ his *Stromateis* expound the doctrines of the main “sects” or αἱρέσεις, which are both philosophical schools and heresies. But for him, philosophy, and not heresy, is a preparation to the Christian mystery, hidden in the mysteries of Scripture, and Clement admittedly uses it to win over the Greeks to the Christian faith:

The preparatory contest is already a contest; the preparations for the mysteries are already mysteries (μυστήρια, cf. Plato, *Gorg.* 497c), and in these notes of mine I shall not hesitate to take advantage of the very best

33 See my “Origen and the Stoic Allegorical Tradition: Continuity and Innovation,” *Invigilata Lucernis* 28 (2006) 195–226 and “Philo as Origen’s Declared Model. Allegorical and Historical Exegesis of Scripture,” *Studies in Christian-Jewish Relations* 7 (2012) 1–17.

34 See Ilaria Ramelli, “Stoic Cosmo-Theology Disguised as Zoroastrianism in Dio’s *Borystheniticus*? The Philosophical Role of Allegoresis as a Mediator between *Physikē* and *Theologia*,” *Jahrbuch für Religionsphilosophie* 12 (2013) 9–26; *eadem*, “Valuing Antiquity in Antiquity by Means of Allegoresis,” in James Ker and Christoph Pieper (eds.), *Valuing the Past in the Greco-Roman World. Proceedings of the Penn-Leiden Colloquium on Ancient Values VII, Leiden 14–16 June 2012* (Mnemosyne Supplements 369; Leiden: Brill, 2014), 485–507.

35 See my “Ethos and Logos.”

36 Cf. *Strom.* I 1, 15, 2.

of philosophy and the propaedeutic disciplines [sc. the liberal arts]. For, according to the Apostle (cf. 1 Cor 9:20–21), it is reasonable not only to become a Jew for the sake of the Jews, but also a Greek for the sake of the Greeks, so as to win over all.³⁷

Clement, indeed, like Origen after him,³⁸ was convinced that Greek philosophy contains many good elements, even though not all of them are directly “edible” (*Strom.* I 1, 7, 2–3). And it contains good elements because it was inspired by the same Logos who then became flesh and is Christ, God’s Logos. Of this Logos Clement celebrates “the mysteries,” adapting the classical mystery tradition and allegorical tradition.

Consistently with this, the importance of philosophy in the formation of Christians is emphasised by Clement in *Strom.* I 5, 31, on the basis of an allegorical interpretation of the story of Abraham, Agar, and Sarah, which reveals the hidden, symbolic meaning of this episode, called by Clement *μυστήριον*:

The passages I have quoted from Scripture can point to other symbolic meanings. From all this we can simply conclude that philosophy has as its specific task the investigation into the truth and the nature of reality. Now, truth is that about which the Lord himself said: *I am the Truth* (John 14:6).³⁹

The object of rational investigation is the truth, which is identified with Christ himself. This is why Clement, like Justin and Origen, can conceive Christianity as philosophy and can value Greek philosophy as an indispensable preparation for Christianity. Like Origen, indeed, Clement maintains that

the culture that prepares for the rest in Christ trains the mind and awakens the intelligence, producing sagacity in research by means of the true philosophy. This is the philosophy that those initiated to the mysteries possess: they have discovered it, or better have received it, from the Truth itself,⁴⁰

37 *Strom.* I 1, 15, 3–4.

38 Demonstration in my *The Christian Doctrine of Apokatastasis. A Critical Assessment from the New Testament to Eriugena* (VChr Suppl. 120; Leiden: Brill, 2013), chapter on Origen.

39 *Strom.* I 5, 32, 3–4.

40 *Strom.* I 5, 32, 4.

who, once again, is Christ. Clement refers here once more to the mysteries of Scripture, identifiable with the mysteries of the Logos, which—since the Logos is Christ, who is the Truth—is also “the mystery of the Truth.”⁴¹ This is why Clement maintains that the “divine mysteries” (θεῖα μυστήρια) are learnt by the “gnostic,” i.e. the perfect Christian philosopher, from the Son of God.⁴²

The Son of God is the perfect manifestation of the divine Logos, which had partial manifestations even before Christ, for instance in Greek philosophy and in the religions of several peoples. Again, such manifestations were not plain, but were given in symbols. As Clement puts it, the ἱερὸς λόγος in various peoples is characterised by “hiddenness” (ἐπίκρυψις), in the recess (ἄδυτον) of divine truth.⁴³ Indeed,

all those who have spoken of God, barbarians and Greeks, have hidden (ἀπεκρύψαντο) the principles of reality and have communicated the truth by means of riddles, symbols, allegories, metaphors (αἰνίγματα, σύμβολα, ἀλληγορίαι, μεταφοραί), and the like, such as the oracles of the Greeks. This is why Apollo, the deity of the oracles, is rightly called Loxias, “oblique.”⁴⁴

Symbolism was the appropriate way of expression of the mystery of a divinity that, for Clement, is transcendent and ineffable.

2 Other Terms for Spiritual Meaning

Clement’s terminology for the figural reading of Scripture does not limit itself to μυστήριον; it is particularly rich and draws both on classical allegoresis—especially Stoic—and on early Christian tradition, namely the New Testament and the earliest Christian literature. He often uses τύπος, already well attested in Justin. Clement refers this term especially to Old Testament figures who are considered to anticipate Christ, such as Isaac,⁴⁵ Abel, the innocent killed, who is a τύπος of the just (*Paed.* I 6, 47, 4), or again Adam, Noah, Abraham, Jacob, or even objects such as manna. Clement sees manna as a typological prefiguration of the spiritual nourishment supplied by the Logos (*Paed.* I 6, 41, 2). It is

⁴¹ *Strom.* VI 11, 95, 1.

⁴² *Strom.* VII 1, 4, 3.

⁴³ Cf. *Strom.* V 4, 19, 3–4.

⁴⁴ *Strom.* V 4, 21, 4. This etymological interpretation, which can be traced back to Stoic theological allegoresis, is attested, e.g., by Cornutus, *Compendium*, 32.

⁴⁵ *Strom.* I 5, 31, 3; 2, 20, 2; *Paed.* I 5, 23, 1.

remarkable, however, that Clement applies the typological terminology also to prefigurations or anticipations, in the Septuagint, of certain Stoic doctrines, such as that the wise person possesses everything and is a king (*Strom.* I 20, 99, 3). Concerning the children of Abraham, the last of whom, Isaac, received the inheritance—just as the younger of the two children of Isaac, Jacob—Clement remarks:

This disposition (“economy”) is prophetic and typological at the same time. That the wise possesses in fact all things, Scripture reveals it clearly where it says, *Since God took pity on me, I possess everything* (Gen 33:11)... Moreover, Scripture teaches that the wise person is king, by stating...: *You are king for us, from God* (Gen 23:6).⁴⁶

Likewise, another tenet of Stoic ethics was prefigured by Scripture:

The Lord says: *Be merciful, as your heavenly Father is merciful* (Luke 6:36). It is from here that the Stoics derived the maxim that the ultimate end is to live according to nature, even though they transfer God’s being to nature in an improper way.⁴⁷

Therefore, biblical typology does not apply only to Old Testament prefigurations of New Testament facts and personages—most notably Jesus Christ—but also to biblical prefigurations of Greek philosophical doctrines. Indeed, Clement explicitly acknowledges the presence of figural language in Greek theological literature, and for this reason assimilates it to Hebrew prophecy (*Strom.* VI 15, 129, 2). For Clement, at any rate, the typological continuity is not only intra-biblical, but it also joins Scripture and philosophy. This provides the very basis of Clement’s philosophical allegoresis of Scripture and also indicates that Clement did not use τύπος in opposition to ἀλληγορία, but as a sub-type of allegory, or even sometimes as a synonym for allegory. Indeed, the contrast between typology and allegory is more a modern construct, due to some scholars such as Jean Daniélou, than a real distinction consistently drawn in the writings of Patristic exegetes.⁴⁸

Another term of Clement’s biblical allegorical terminology, which we have already encountered more than once, is παραβολή, which primarily

46 *Strom.* II 19, 99, 3; 100, 2. Cf. Philo, *De nobil.* 30–31; *Abr.* 44, 261; *Somn.* II 36, 244.

47 *Strom.* II 19, 100, 4–101, 1.

48 For an overview of the debate see Peter Martens, “Revisiting the Allegory/Typology Distinction: The Case of Origen,” *JCS* 16 (2008) 283–317.

pertains to the biblical lexicon. But Clement also employs a rich range of terms that belonged to the classical terminology of allegoresis, first Stoic and later Platonic, such as ἀλληγορία, which Clement uses with much less reticence than Origen will do (Origen probably disliked it because he regarded it as compromised by “pagan” and “Gnostic” allegory and allegoresis),⁴⁹ αἰνιγμα, αἰνίττομαι, σύμβολον, ὑπόνοια,⁵⁰ etc. In total, there are about seventy occurrences of such terms, which refer both to allegory as a compositional technique and, less frequently, to allegoresis as an exegetical technique.

Clement turns to allegoresis whenever the literal sense of Scripture is unsatisfying, due to divine anthropomorphisms, internal contradictions, and the like. This strategy, based on the *defectus litterae*, was already used by classical allegorists and by Philo, and was later theorised by Origen in book IV of his Περὶ ἀρχῶν in terms that are very similar to those of Clement. Clement considered, and employed, allegoresis—which aimed at the discovery of the “mysteries” or spiritual meanings of Scripture—within the broader framework of a continuity between Greek culture and philosophy and Christianity or Christian “philosophy.” Like Justin, who valued whatever was said especially by philosophers, if good, even before Christianity, and declared it to belong to the Christians (2 *Ap.* 13, 4), Clement also thought that the Logos, who is Christ, is the teacher of all creatures (*Strom.* VI 7, 58, 1). Justin also had identified the Logos with the source of both prophetic revelation and philosophical illumination.⁵¹ Clement agreed with Justin, and with Origen and later Patristic thinkers, that the most perfect manifestation of the Logos was in Jesus Christ, in whom the Logos revealed itself no longer in a veiled, prophetic way (προφητικῶς), but fully and clearly, ἐναργῶς (*Protr.* 1, 7, 6). Therefore, Clement represented Christianity as the perfecting of both Greek philosophy and the Hebrew Scripture—in the latter case, in contrast with the Marcionites’ positions. Clement rejected the division of Scripture, which he regarded as one, Old and New Testament, tied together by the same spiritual meanings or “mysteries.” Origen, referring to the same concept, will speak of one and the same “body of Christ,” who is the very spiritual meaning of all Scripture. Against Marcionism, Clement, like Origen later, insisted that both justice and goodness belong to one and the same God (*Paed.* I 8, 73, 3), the Creator (*Strom.* I 27, 174, 3), and that “the Law and the Prophets” cannot be opposed to “the Gospel and the Apostle.”⁵²

49 E.g., *Strom.* II 5, 20, 2; VI 11, 88, 3.

50 E.g., *Strom.* V 4, 24, 1.

51 Justin, 1 *Ap.* 5; 12, 7–10 and *passim*.

52 *Strom.* II 23, 147, 2; *Paed.* III 12, 87, 4.

3 The Role of Philosophy for Clement and its Connection with Biblical Allegoresis

Like Justin, who seems to have been the first to use “philosophy” (φιλοσοφία) in reference to Christianity,⁵³ Clement describes Christianity as βάρβαρος φιλοσοφία (*Strom.* II 6, 25) and true philosophy.⁵⁴ His definition also echoed Philo’s notion of Mosaic philosophy, entailing the equation between Hebraism and true philosophy.⁵⁵ This position will be developed not only, most notably, by Origen, but also by his follower Eusebius.⁵⁶ Clement did not use θεολογία in reference to Christianity for the same reason why Origen did not like to use ἀλληγορία: namely, because θεολογία smacked too much of “paganism,” since it was prevalently used in connection with the philosophical *allegoresis* of myths and rituals concerning “pagan” deities, for instance in the *Compendium theologiae graecae* or by Cornutus, well known to Origen and very probably also to Clement himself. Its very title included the noun θεολογία: *Summary of the Greek Theological Tradition*, Ἐπιδρομή τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν θεολογίαν παραδεδομένων. But, even if for this reason Clement refrained from using θεολογία in reference to Christianity, nevertheless the ideas of the philosophers for Clement did contain seeds of truth, and Greek philosophy was a valid preparation for Christianity.⁵⁷ The Greeks did receive “certain sparkles of the divine Logos,” albeit they did not reach the full flame (*Protr.* 7, 74, 7). Plato speaks “as though he were inspired” (*Strom.* I 8, 42, 1); he and the other philosophers derived from the Hebrew Bible (“Moses”) the truths of their philosophy.⁵⁸ In support of the anteriority of the Mosaic philosophy—i.e. of the Hebrew Scriptures interpreted according to their spiritual meaning—to

53 Justin, 2 *Apol.* 12, 5; *Dial.* 8.

54 *Strom.* I 2, 21; 23, 156; II 12, 54.

55 Philo, *Decal.* 96–98; *QG* II 41.

56 Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* I 4, 10.

57 *Strom.* I 1–9; 21; VI 7–8.

58 *Strom.* II 1, 1; VI 3, 28. Clement was involved in the debate over the Greek or “barbarian” origin of philosophy, which involved also Diogenes Laertius and Tatian at approximately the same time. See my “Diogene Laerzio e Clemente Alessandrino nel contesto di un dibattito culturale comune,” *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma* 15 (2004) 207–24; “Diogene Laerzio e i Cristiani: conoscenza e polemica con Taziano e con Clemente Alessandrino?,” *ibid.* 27–42; “Diogene Laerzio storico del pensiero antico tra biografia e dossografia, ‘successioni di filosofi’ e scuole filosofiche,” in *Diogene Laerzio, Vite e dottrine dei più celebri filosofi* (Milan: Bompiani, 2005), xxxiii–cxxxviii; Kendra Eshleman, *The Social World of Intellectuals in the Roman Empire: Sophists, Philosophers, and Christians* (Cambridge: CUP, 2012), 191–9 on Diogenes Laërtius and 199–202 on Clement of Alexandria.

Greek philosophy Clement nominally invoked Philo and Aristobulus,⁵⁹ to conclude that “the whole of Greek wisdom derived from barbarian philosophy.”⁶⁰ All this happened providentially, because all human beings are called to the salvific wisdom (*Strom.* v 1, 10, 3) and Greek philosophy itself is, “in a way, providential” (*Strom.* i 1, 18, 4). Clement aptly quotes Numenius—later praised also by Origen—who, as I mentioned, pithily described Plato as “a Greek-speaking Moses” (*Strom.* i 22, 150, 4).

Philosophy for Clement is superior to heresies and useful in refuting them. In *Strom.* i 19, 95–96, Clement interprets Prov 27:10: *A friend nearby is better than a brother who lives far away* (NETS), identifying the friend with the philosopher and the brother with the heretic. The heretic is a brother because he too is a Christian, but “pagan” philosophy is better than heresy and, far from being perceived with hostility by Clement, is called a “friend” because of its potential to combat heresies. Clement identifies the heretics, presented as deceitful sophists, with the “vain speakers and deceivers” mentioned in Tit 1:10 (*Strom.* i 8, 41, 2). Making biblical exegesis the very centre of theology, Clement also refutes specific scriptural interpretations by heretics, for example by orienting his reading of the Gospel against those who considered the material world a product of an inferior deity and deduced from this the negativity of marriage and procreation. Clement also read Gen 23:4, *I am a resident alien and a sojourner among you* (NETS), differently from Basilides, who identified the resident aliens and sojourners with the “Gnostics,” whom he represented as strangers to the world qua superior to the world (ὑπερχόσμοι). Clement replies that by nature nobody is a stranger to the world.⁶¹ For Clement, very importantly, the source of heresy is not philosophy, as some heresiologists maintained, but the wrong interpretation of Scripture (*Strom.* vii 16, 97, 4), the exegetical incapacity to grasp “the mysteries of knowledge” concealed in the Bible. The same will be maintained by Origen, who accused “heretics” such as the Marcionites of exegetical maladroitness, in that they were unable to realise that “the Law is spiritual” and therefore refused an allegorico-philosophical reading of the Hebrew Scriptures; as a result, they found therein a representation of God that was unworthy of the divine. For Origen, Philo the Jew was a better exegete than the Marcionites precisely for this reason.⁶²

Philosophy, for Clement, recognised the same God as Christianity, albeit imperfectly; this is why it is called to progress, so as to participate in perfect

59 *Strom.* i 15, 72, 4; v 14, 97, 7.

60 *Strom.* v 14, 140, 2; vi 7, 55, 3–4.

61 *Strom.* iv 26, 165, 3–4.

62 See my “Philo as Origen’s Declared Model.”

knowledge or gnosis (*Strom.* VI 5–8), which has been brought about by Christ: “The Apostle has called *Wisdom of God* (1 Cor 1:24) the teaching according to the Lord, to indicate that the true philosophy is transmitted to us through the Son.”⁶³ Philosophy, indeed, is the quest for the truth, and Christ is the truth (*Strom.* I 5, 32, 4). The Platonic ideal of assimilation to God and the Stoic ideal of behaving according to nature and eradicating passions⁶⁴ are in perfect accord with Scripture and were actually already found in Scripture, so that for Clement, too, the philosophers who incarnated virtue are potentially Christian and “martyrs” of—i.e. witnesses to—the Logos,⁶⁵ since their prototype is Christ-Logos.⁶⁶ According to Clement, Plato hinted at the Trinity, and Empedocles at the resurrection;⁶⁷ Plato pointed to ways leading to the knowledge of God and he is found in agreement with St. Paul.⁶⁸ If Paul quotes a verse from Epimenides, this is because the latter “expresses something of the truth” (*Strom.* I 14, 59, 3). God has spoken even through Pindar (*Strom.* I 29, 181, 5), and Christ and the apostles descended to hell for the salvation of the pagans (*Strom.* VI 5–6).⁶⁹

The Logos at first spoke through marvellous signs, such as the burning bush, then through the prophets and Greek philosophers, and finally directly, when

63 *Strom.* I 18, 90, 1.

64 Denis Bradley, “The Transformation of Stoic Ethics in Clement of Alexandria,” *Augustinianum* 14 (1974) 41–66; my “The Stoic Doctrine of *Oikeiōsis* and its Transformation in Christian Platonism,” *Apeiron* 47 (2014) 116–40.

65 Cf. Annewies van den Hoek, “Clement of Alexandria on Martyrdom,” *SP* 26 (1993) 324–41; Ilaria Ramelli, “Gesù tra i sapienti greci perseguitati ingiustamente in un antico documento filosofico pagano di lingua siriana,” *Rivista di Filosofia Neoscolastica* 97 (2005) 545–70; “Mara Bar Sarapion’s Letter: Comments on the Syriac Edition, Translation, and Notes by David Rensberger,” in Annette Merz and Teun Tieleman (eds.), *The Letter of Mara bar Serapion in Context* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 205–31.

66 *Strom.* II 19–22; cf. IV 1–9.

67 On Empedocles in Clement and Themistius see Ilaria Ramelli, “Vie diverse all’unico mistero: la concezione delle religioni in Temistio ed il suo atteggiamento verso il Cristianesimo,” *Rendiconti dell’Istituto Lombardo, Accademia di Scienze e Lettere* 139 (2005) 455–83.

68 *Strom.* III 3, 18, 1–2; V 2, 14.

69 Even though the Greeks “fell from the original communion between the human beings and heaven” (*Protr.* 2, 25, 1), Clement indicates a number of doctrines that Greek philosophers shared with Scripture: e.g., in Pythagoras (*Strom.* II 18, 92, 1; V 5, 27, 7), Heraclitus (*Strom.* V 1, 9, 3), Plato (*Strom.* I 1, 10, 2; II 18, 92, 3; 19, 100, 3; V 11, 67; *Paed.* I 8, 67, 1; III 11, 54, 2); Antisthenes (*Strom.* V 14, 108, 4), Orpheus (*Strom.* V 14, 123, 1), Aristotle (*Strom.* I 17, 87, 3), the Stoics (*Strom.* V 1, 9, 4; their conflagration theory suggests the resurrection; 3, 17, 6) and philosophers in general (V 5, 29, 3).

it became incarnated and instructed the new people of the Christians “face to face” (*Paed.* I 7, 58, 1). Every expression of the Logos contains hidden teaching that—as Stoic allegorists already maintained—allegorical interpretation must bring to light. Clement, like Origen after him, in *Strom.* v 9, 56 speaks of a multiplicity of hidden meanings, referring to Scripture. Christian philosophy as the perfect expression of the Logos, preceded by partial and hidden expressions, in Clement is thus closely related to the importance of allegorico-philosophical interpretation, which reveals the mysteries of Scripture in Scripture itself and in the expressions of the Logos that preceded it.

According to Clement, the conviction that the Divinity expresses itself in Scripture should exhort Christians to research, making them “zetetic” (ζητητικοί—a key concept for Origen later). Such rational investigation, if it has no other, deviant aims, confirms faith. For our efforts induce God to communicate the Logos to us (*Strom.* v 2, 15–3, 18), and the truth, after being researched and sought out, is sweet (*Strom.* I 2, 21). Indeed, for Clement, just as for Origen after him, the reason why truth is expressed in symbols is twofold: not only, as we have seen, that deep, spiritual meanings may not be grasped by people unworthy of them, but also that exegetes may exert their minds in the effort of interpretation (*Strom.* v 4, 24; see also VI 15, 126, 2 quoted above). Most notably Scripture expresses truth symbolically, in “mysteries,” but not *only* Scripture. There are a great many people who “expressed philosophical ideas symbolically” (συμβολικῶς φιλοσοφούντες),⁷⁰ for instance the Seven Sages with their pithy maxims, for which Clement finds Old Testament models.⁷¹ Like a number of Stoic allegorists and *Homerapologeten*, Clement also claims that “the poets express symbolically many philosophical thoughts (δι’ ὑπονοίας φιλοσοφοῦσι): for instance, Linus, Musaeus, Homer, Hesiod, and the like”;⁷² Clement also thinks of proverbs and Pythagorean and Orphic symbols, which too, in his view, derived from the “Mosaic philosophy.”

Not only the Greeks knew and used allegorical, symbolic expression, but also the “barbarians,” and among the latter, not only the Hebrews, with whom the “Mosaic philosophy” flourished, but also the Egyptians. Their hieroglyphics had not only a proper use, like that of the Hebrew consonants, but also symbolic uses, such as the representation of stars by means of serpents, due to their oblique translation (*Strom.* v 4, 20). This passage, parallel to one by Porphyry reported by Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* VI 19, 4–8), seems to derive from the

70 *Strom.* v 9, 56, 2.

71 E.g., Exod 10:28; 34:12; Deut 4:9 for *nosce te ipsum* in *Strom.* II 11, 70, 5; cf. VII 3, 20, 7.

72 *Strom.* v 4, 24, 1.

work on hieroglyphics by the Stoic allegorist Chaeremon.⁷³ Clement explicitly declares that, “as for hiddenness, the *enigmata* of the Egyptians are similar to those of the Hebrews,” to the point that Clement assimilates the Egyptian *adyta* to the Holy of Holies of the Temple of Jerusalem, which was accessible only to the high priest, and only once a year (*Strom.* v 4, 19). But especially the whole of the Bible—according to Clement just as to Philo before him and to Origen after him—is symbolical, and admittedly so. Psalm 77:2 states that God *opens his mouth in parables* and that God’s words are *προβλήματα*; and Paul in 1 Cor 2:6–10 declares Christian wisdom to be hidden in the mysteries of the depths of God. Jesus himself elected parables as a privileged, and figural, way of expression. Precisely because they convey mysteries, the Scriptures communicate them symbolically. Hence the close relation between the mysteries of Scripture, allegory, and allegoresis.

In *Strom.* vi 2, 15–18 Clement hammers home that the understanding of Scripture rests upon some Greek canons such as allegory. Thus, for instance, the Decalogue can be interpreted in an allegorical, mystical sense. Like Origen later, Clement was convinced that the Logos, who is the inspirer and the very content of the Bible, is also its truest exegete, by whom human exegetes are enlightened: “The exegete (ἐξηγητής) of the laws is the same by whom *the Law was given*, the first interpreter of the divine commandments, who reveals (ἐξηγούμενος) *the bosom of the Father, the only-begotten Son.*”⁷⁴ This is a remarkable point. Another respect of scriptural exegesis in which Clement both follows Philo and anticipates Origen, is biblical intratextuality: every point in Scripture can be elucidated in light of other passages, coming from other scriptural books (*Strom.* vii 16, 96, 4). This was also the well known philological principle of “clarifying Homer with Homer.” The underlying conviction was that Scripture was all profoundly interconnected. In *Strom.* vii 16, 96, 1–3, for instance, also against the Marcionites, Clement insists on the interconnectedness of Scripture, its “body”—Origen, as I mentioned, will say that it is the one body of Christ—and its “texture.” As a consequence, Clement criticises those who single out small passages, irrespective of their context, looking only at names but not at meanings. Such intertextual reading of the Bible was especially congenial, and conducive, to allegorical interpretation.

Thus, for instance, in *Strom.* v 8, 52–53, Clement interprets the words of Miriam’s canticle, *He has triumphed with glory... he has thrown into the sea both horse and knight* (Exod 15:1.21) in reference to reason that overcomes passions—a very Philonian exegesis—also with a reminiscence of Plato’s

73 See my *Allegoristi dell’età classica*, 671–707.

74 *Strom.* i 26, 169, 4; cf. John 1:17–18.

Phaedrus and the injunction for the charioteer to control the horse that represents the concupiscible (desiring, appetitive) part of soul. Soon after, Clement interprets allegorically the story of Joseph, who was rejected, thrown into a well, and betrayed by his brothers. The latter refuse the knowledge of Joseph; they place Joseph into a state that lacks in the divine Logos, because they only have a “Jewish,” sterile faith; the coloured vestment of which they divest Joseph can represent concupiscence. The Old Testament prescription to cover the wells, that animals may not fall therein, is interpreted soon after (*Strom.* v 8, 54) as an exhortation to hide the depths of knowledge, the γνῶσις, to those who are unworthy of it. In *Strom.* v 8, 55, 1–3, after remarking that the previous observations indicate the τύπος of the Law and the prophets until John the Baptist, when the latter declares that he is unworthy of loosing the Lord’s sandals, Clement understands this action as the revelation of the Jewish prophecy, “the oracles of the ancient economy.” In the oracle of Isa 49:8–9, which Clement cites according to the Septuagint⁷⁵ and interprets allegorically in *Strom.* vi 6, 44, 3, he identifies those who are in bonds with the Jews, and those who are in darkness with the Greeks, as idolaters. Now, Clement remarks, the two groups are replaced by that of the Christians, who come from both Jews and Greeks, but all three of these groups, Greeks, Jews, and Christians, in Clement’s view, “have known the same God: the Greeks according to paganism, the Jews according to Judaism, and the Christians according to the Spirit (πνευματικῶς),” that is, in the most perfect way (*Strom.* vi 5, 41, 6–7). However, it is remarkable that the divinity known by the Greeks is identified by Clement with that of the Christians and the Jews.

4 Clement’s Indebtedness to Philo (and to Stoic Allegorists)

Clement’s indebtedness to Philo—like Origen’s—with regard to the allegoresis of Scripture is difficult to overestimate. Just as Philo regarded Judaism as the true philosophy, so did also Clement—like Origen and Gregory of Nyssa later—deem Christianity the true philosophy. Consistently with this, all of them endeavoured to interpret the Bible, their authoritative text, in the light of philosophy (and this in a period in which the religious tradition, in turn, began to become an important foundation of philosophy, e.g., in the Middle Platonist

75 *Thus says the Lord: In an acceptable time I have listened to you, on a day of salvation I have helped you; I gave you as a covenant to nations, to establish the land, and to inherit a wilderness heritage, saying to those who are in bonds, “Come out,” and to those who are in darkness that they be revealed.*

Plutarch and, subsequently, in later Neoplatonists).⁷⁶ For this all-important enterprise, a mighty instrument was supplied by allegorical exegesis. This was already present in Stoic—and later Middle and Neoplatonic—“pagan” philosophy, but it was first applied by Philo (with some antecedents in Aristobulus and others) to Scripture. Like other Jewish-Hellenistic and early Christian apologists,⁷⁷ both Philo and Clement assumed that Moses lived before Plato and the Greek philosophers and that the convergences between the Bible and Greek philosophy were due to the common inspiration of the Logos, albeit not without distortions that Justin and Clement explained as produced by evil demons. Philo was so convinced of the common inspiration of the Bible and Platonism as to think that the Bible teaches, among else, the Platonic doctrine of the Ideas, especially in Exod 33:18 and 25:40⁷⁸—in Philo’s case, a Middle-Platonic notion of the Ideas as God’s thoughts, situated in God’s Logos and even tending to coincide with it. On the basis of this broad intellectual framework, Philo read the Bible as an allegorical exposition of fundamentally Platonic (and Stoic) doctrines *ante litteram*. Clement, who followed Philo, did something similar, although he read in the Bible prefigurations of many Greek philosophers’ doctrines—and not only Platonic and Stoic—, as I have illustrated above.

Philo’s influence on the Christian Fathers has been extensively investigated by scholars.⁷⁹ Specific contributions concerning Clement’s dependence on Philo are also available, most notably by Annewies van den Hoek, who has offered a thorough analysis.⁸⁰ Clement often based himself on Philo’s exegeses,

76 See, e.g., Rainer Hirsch-Luipold et al. (eds.), *Religiöse Philosophie und philosophische Religion der frühen Kaiserzeit* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009).

77 See e.g., Aaron P. Johnson, *Ethnicity and Argument in Eusebius’ Praeparatio Evangelica* (Oxford: OUP, 2006), 1–24 on Jewish apologetics of the second-third centuries; my “Le origini della filosofia: greche o barbare?,” *Rivista di Filosofia Neoscolastica* 99 (2007) 185–214. Allegory in Philo is only partially used in support of “apologetics” according to Ellen Birnbaum, “Allegorical Interpretation and Jewish Identity among Alexandrian Jewish Writers,” in David Aune (ed.), *Neotestamentica et Philonica* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 307–29.

78 Philo, *Spec.* I 41, 45–48; *QE* II 82; *Mos.* II 74–76, with an exegesis that will be taken up by Origen, *Hom. Exod.* 9, 2. See Gregory E. Sterling, “Ontology vs Eschatology,” *SPhilo* 13 (2001) 190–211, esp. 200–10.

79 E.g., David Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Literature* (Assen-Minneapolis: Van Gorcum, 1993); *idem*, *Philo and the Church Fathers: A Collection of Papers* (Leiden: Brill, 1995). Useful hints also in David Dawson, *Allegorical Readers and Cultural Revision in Ancient Alexandria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

80 E.g., Paul Heinisch, *Der Einfluss Philos auf die älteste christliche Exegese* (Münster: Aschendorffsche Buchhandlung, 1908); Jacobus C.M. van Winden, “Quotations from

even quoting directly from him without naming him. Eric Osborn has noted that in the about three hundred citations of Philo in the *Stromateis*, Clement often extrapolates Philo's words from their contexts for his own, different, scope.⁸¹ According to Osborn, while Philo was a "philosophical exegete,"⁸² who interpreted Scripture in the light of philosophy, Clement was a "biblical theologian,"⁸³ who constructed his own theology on the basis of Scripture—in turn read through a Platonic lens—and whose commitment to Plato was stronger than that of Philo.⁸⁴ Marcelo Merino Rodríguez has pointed out more than one hundred Philonic derivations in Books IV–V of the *Stromateis*, and almost two hundred in Books II–III.⁸⁵ Jennifer Otto has surmised that Clement appreciated Philo—and called him a "Pythagorean"—because he connected him with Pythagorean practices such as "the interpretation of symbols and enigmas in esoteric texts"⁸⁶ and associated him with the Pythagorean Numenius who, albeit not a Jew, also acknowledged the dependence of Plato and Pythagoras on the writings of Moses—and, I would add, interpreted these writings, and even those which later became the New Testament, allegorically. Remarkably enough, Clement, like Numenius, but also like Valentinians such as Heracleon, and like Origen later, interpreted the New Testament, too, allegorically. The main difference between Clement and Origen, on the one side, and Heracleon and the "Gnostics" on the other was that, while Clement and

Philo in Clement of Alexandria's *Protrepticus*," *VChr* 32 (1978) 208–13; Annewies van den Hoek, *Clement of Alexandria and His Use of Philo in the Stromateis: An Early Christian Reshaping of a Jewish Model* (VChr Suppl. 3; Leiden: Brill, 1988); *eadem*, "How Alexandrian Was Clement of Alexandria?," *Heythrop Journal* 31 (1990) 179–94; *eadem*, "Techniques of Quotation in Clement of Alexandria," *VChr* 50 (1996) 223–42, esp. 232–3; *eadem*, "The 'Catechetical' School of Early Christian Alexandria and Its Philonic Heritage," *Harvard Theological Review* 90 (1997) 59–87; Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Literature*, 132–56; David Runia, "Why Does Clement of Alexandria Call Philo 'The Pythagorean'?", *VChr* 49 (1995) 1–22.

- 81 Eric F. Osborn, "Philo and Clement: Citation and Influence," in Henri Crouzel (ed.), *Lebendige Überlieferung* (Beirut-Ostfildern: Rückert-Schwabe, 1992), 228–43. See also *idem*, "Philo and Clement. Quiet Conversion and Noetic Exegesis," *SPhilo* 10 (1998) 108–24.
- 82 Eric F. Osborn, *Clement of Alexandria* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005), 93.
- 83 Osborn, *Clement*, 100.
- 84 Osborn, *Clement*, 104.
- 85 Marcelo Merino Rodríguez, in Clemente de Alejandría, *Stromata II–III* (Madrid: Ciudad Nueva, 1998); *Stromata IV–V* (Madrid: Ciudad Nueva, 2003). Andrew Dinan, "The Mystery of Play," *SPhilo* 19 (2007) 59–80, shows how Clement, *Paed.* I 5, 21–22, conflates two Philonic passages.
- 86 Jennifer Otto, "Philo, Judaeus? A Re-evaluation of why Clement Calls Philo 'the Pythagorean'," *SPhilo* 25 (2013) 115–38; quotation from 136.

Origen allowed for both a historical and an allegorical or spiritual exegesis of the New Testament, the “Gnostics” tended to dissolve the historical plane and only retain the allegorical interpretation.⁸⁷

Clement, who was active in the same city as Philo more than one century after him, is the first Christian author who shows a good knowledge of his writings, prominently among which the *Life of Moses*: he quotes ample sections from it in *Strom.* 1 23, where he recounts Moses’ birth and youth; in 23, 153, 2 he explicitly refers to Philo’s “Life of Moses.” Clement retains for Moses the functions of legislator and prophet, but not that of high priest, which Philo attributed to him, but which the Letter to the Hebrews had meanwhile ascribed to Christ.⁸⁸ Manuscripts of Philo’s works were certainly present in Alexandria, where Origen too read and pondered them,⁸⁹ before transferring his own copies to Caesarea, where Eusebius inherited them.

Clement, who used both Greek and Hebrew etymologies, was partially indebted to Philo with regard to the etymologico-allegorical technique applied to Scripture. Greek etymologies, mostly stemming from the Stoic tradition and often from Chrysippus, are frequent in Clement, who linked them to allegoresis and is said by Annewies van den Hoek to approximate the above-mentioned Stoic allegorist Cornutus in his treatment of names and myths.⁹⁰ Clement shared with Philo the interest in etymologies of biblical names; thus, for instance, in *Strom.* 1 1, 13, 1–5 he openly mentions Philo as a source for his own etymologies of the names of the biblical patriarchs and their wives—in a typological passage that I have analysed at the beginning—although sometimes he shows a total independence from Philo. Shortly afterwards, Origen was much more attracted than Clement to Hebrew language and Hebrew etymologies of biblical names, whereas he was less interested than Clement in Greek mythology and etymologies. Origen in *Pasch.* 1 provided the interpretation of *πάσχα* as “passage” according to the Hebrew etymology already known to Clement,

87 See my “The Philosophical Stance of Allegory.”

88 See my “The Universal and Eternal Validity of Jesus’s High-Priestly Sacrifice,” in Richard Bauckham et al. (eds.), *A Cloud of Witnesses: The Theology of Hebrews in Its Ancient Contexts* (London: T&T Clark, 2008), ch. 14.

89 Robert M. Berchman, *From Philo to Origen. Middle Platonism in transition* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1984); Christoph Blönnigen, *Die griechische Ursprung der jüdisch-hellenistischen Allegorese* (Frankfurt: Lang 1992), 205–65, here 228–62; Runia, *Philo in Literature*, 161–2; David Runia, “Filone e i primi teologi cristiani,” *Annali di Storia dell’Esegesi* 14 (1997) 355–80; van den Hoek, *Philo and Origen*; Hans G. Thümmel, “Philon und Origenes,” in Lorenzo Perrone (ed.), *Origeniana octava* (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 275–86.

90 Annewies van den Hoek, “Etymologizing in a Christian Context: The Techniques of Clement and Origen,” *SPhilo* 16 (2004) 122–68, esp. 139.

who used it in *Strom.* II 11, 51, 1–2, coming from Philo *Congr.* 100–106. Origen, by transliterating the term as φασ', attests to the ancient pronunciation *phash* (different from the later Masoretic *pesah*) confirmed by the transliterations of the Septuagint, Aquila, Symmachus, and Philo himself (*Leg.* III 94): φασεχ or φασεκ. Philo, according to the correct Hebrew etymology he offers, calls Pesach "passage," διάβασις or διαβατήρια.⁹¹ Clement's and Origen's etymologies, based on Philo's, contrasted with other Christian interpretations of πάσχα as "suffering," from the Greek verb πάσχω.⁹²

The very conception of the literal and spiritual meaning of the Bible as the body and soul of Scripture, which lies at the heart of biblical philosophical allegoresis, was already present in Philo, who attributed it to the Therapeutae (*Contempl.* 78), and from whom Clement derived it, as Annewies van den Hoek has noted.⁹³ This notion will also be central to Origen's theorisation of biblical allegoresis in *Princ.* IV, developed into a threefold division of σῶμα, ψυχή, and πνεῦμα.⁹⁴ Later it will also be inherited by Gregory of Nyssa, who defended and theorised the spiritual (Origenian) exegesis of Scripture still in the prologue to his last work, the *Homilies on the Song of Songs*.⁹⁵ It is thus possible to trace a line of continuity from Alexandria to Caesarea and Cappadocia, from Hellenistic Jewish allegorists to early Christian philosophers, all related to Platonism, and precisely in respect to a notion that was crucial to biblical allegoresis. Indeed, I have demonstrated elsewhere⁹⁶ that both Clement, Origen and Gregory Nyssen inherited from Philo exegetical strategies and specific exegeses together with key theological doctrines, such doctrines being linked to the exegeses.

For instance, Philo (*Post.* 14; *Mut.* 7) buttressed his theory of the unknowability of God's nature or essence—as opposed to the knowability of God's creation, providence, and operations in general—by means of the allegorical exegesis of Ex 20:21, where Moses enters the darkness in which God dwells.

91 See Karl Gerlach, *The Antenicene Pascha: A Rhetorical History* (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 86–90.

92 Ps. Melito, *De Pascha* 46; Apollinarius Claudius, *De Pascha* (quoted in *Chronicon paschale*, PG 92, 80c–81a); Hippolytus, *De pascha* (*ibid.*, PG 92, 80bc).

93 Annewies van den Hoek, "The concept of σῶμα τῶν γραφῶν in Alexandrian theology," *SP* 19 (1989) 250–4.

94 See also Origen, *Hom. Lev.* 5, 1 and my "The Philosophical Stance."

95 See Ilaria Ramelli, "Apokatastasis and Epektasis in *Hom. in Cant.*: The Relation between Two Core Doctrines in Gregory and Roots in Origen," forthcoming in the Proceedings of the XIII International Colloquium on Gregory of Nyssa, Rome, 17–20 September 2014.

96 Cf. my paper, "Philosophical Allegoresis of Scripture in Philo and Its Legacy in Gregory of Nyssa," *SPhilo* 20 (2008) 55–99.

This darkness is allegorised as a reference to God's unknowability. Now, not only Philo's exegesis of Ex 20:21, but also the doctrine of the unknowability of God's nature and the knowability of divine operations was taken over by Clement (*Strom.* II 2, 6, 1; V 12, 78, 3) and, later, by Origen and Gregory of Nyssa.⁹⁷ Likewise, Philo's Platonising account of the double creation of the world in *Opif.* 15–35, intelligible on “day one” and sense-perceptible on days second to sixth, passed on, through his exegesis, to Clement (*Strom.* V 14, 93–94), to Origen (*Hom. Gen.* 1, 2, in addition to his lost *Commentary on Genesis*) and, thanks to Origen's influence and probably also to a direct reading of Philo's writings, to Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* XI 6, 19, and Gregory of Nyssa, who distinguishes the intelligible creation on the first day as God's comprehensive plan, and the sense-perceptible creation as the development of the intelligible one into six days.⁹⁸

While the influence of Stoic allegoresis on Philo is debated, its influence on Clement, as well as on Origen, is certain. Indeed, together with Philo (just addressed) and Pantaenus (treated in the next section), another significant source of Clement's allegorical exegesis were “pagan” Stoic and Middle Platonic allegorists, such as the above-mentioned Cornutus, Chaeremon, and Numenius, who were well known to Clement just as to Origen. They represent a *methodological* source, as Porphyry himself says clearly about Origen's use of Cornutus and Chaeremon: Origen took the allegorical exegetical method from these Stoics and transferred it—according to Porphyry, illegitimately—to the interpretation of Scripture.⁹⁹ The same could be said for Clement. The main difference between Stoic and Middle Platonic allegorists and Clement—as well as Origen—lies in the texts to which they applied allegory: Scripture in the case of the Christians (and Hellenistic Jews such as Aristobulus and Philo), “pagan” myths in the case of the Stoics and the “pagan” Middle Platonists, with the sole exception of Numenius, who also allegorised the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. However, while Porphyry speaks as though the Stoic “pagan” allegorists such as Cornutus and Chaeremon were the *only* source of inspiration

97 Gregory of Nyssa, *In Basilium fratrem* 129, 5–9; *In Canticum canticorum* 181; 322–323; *In inscriptiones Psalmorum* 44; *Vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi* 10, 10–14; *De vita Moysis* II 163. See also my “The Divine as Inaccessible Object of Knowledge.”

98 *Hex.* PG 44, 72. On Philo's account see David T. Runia, “The King, the Architect, and the Craftsman,” in *Ancient Approaches to Plato's Timaeus*, eds. Robert Sharples and Anne Sheppard (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 2003), 89–106; Gregory E. Sterling, “Day One,” *SPhilo* 17 (2005) 118–40. On Clement's account see van den Hoek, *Clement*, 196.

99 *Ap.* Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* VI 19, 4–8. Discussed extensively in my “Origen, Patristic Philosophy.”

for Origen's allegoresis, both Origen himself and Clement had also Philo and Pantaenus at the very least. I have argued elsewhere that Porphyry, just as Celsus before him, intentionally obscured Philo's glaring precedent for Origen, as well as Clement's very precedent, and that Origen, in direct polemic with Celsus, consciously claimed Philo's model for his own allegoresis of Scripture.¹⁰⁰

5 Clement's Indebtedness to Pantaenus

Another Alexandrian intellectual and biblical exegete who, in addition to Philo, exerted a deep influence on Clement and his allegoresis of Scripture in search of its spiritual meanings or *μυστήρια*, is his teacher Pantaenus, who was also well known to Origen. Since, however, we do not dispose of a large body of works in the case of Pantaenus, as instead we do in the case of Philo, a precise and systematic assessment of Clement's dependence on Pantaenus is impossible. We must proceed on the basis of the scanty testimonies and fragments we have at our disposal. Pantaenus lived in the second half of the second century and taught in Alexandria under Commodus and in the early Severan age.¹⁰¹ He is said by Eusebius to have been a "Stoic philosopher," renowned for his learning.¹⁰² Pantaenus taught in Alexandria until his death, both orally and in writings,¹⁰³ but his writings are unfortunately lost. In Alexandria he almost certainly taught Clement-Titus Flavius Clemens, who was a disciple of several thinkers around the Mediterranean, the last of whom, in Egypt, was in all probability Pantaenus. Eusebius, indeed, in *Hist. eccl.* v 11, 2–5 identifies Pantaenus with the best of the Christian teachers, mostly philosophers, cited by Clement in *Strom.* I 1, 11: Pantaenus "was hiding in Egypt" and was the last teacher found by Clement, "but for capacity he was the first." He was the best among those who preserved "the true tradition of the blessed teaching" through an oral transmission from parent to child—a form of esoteric teaching that was dear to Clement.¹⁰⁴

100 See my "Philo as Origen's Declared Model."

101 Cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* v 10, 1–4.

102 Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* v 10, 1.

103 Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* v 10, 4.

104 See, e.g., Ernest L. Fortin, "Clement of Alexandria and the Esoteric Tradition," *SP* 9 (1966) 41–56. The emphasis on oral transmission goes back to the origin of Christianity. The oral transmission of Jesus traditions has been recently highlighted again by James D.G. Dunn, *The Oral Gospel Tradition* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2013). Oral transmission of Jesus traditions continued even after the writing of the Gospels that became canonical. Papias himself, in the early second century, still preferred oral testimonies to written

Now, Clement named Pantaenus as his teacher and exhibited his scriptural exegeses and traditions in his own *Hypotyposeis*. Here, according to Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* VI 13, 1–2), who could still read this work, now fragmentary, in its entirety, Clement nominally indicated Pantaenus as his teacher, and explicitly stated that he was in fact expounding Pantaenus's exegeses of Scripture and his traditions. Clement himself describes his *Stromateis* (I 1, 11, 2) as notes from his master's teaching. Pantaenus's teachings and scriptural exegeses, very probably also allegorical,¹⁰⁵ were thus collected by Clement in his own *Hypotyposeis*, where he also mentioned Pantaenus by name as his teacher (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* VI 13, 2). Photius, *Bibl. Cod.* 109, in his account of Clement's *Hypotyposeis*, reports that Clement himself in that biblical exegetical work attested that he was a disciple of Pantaenus: Μαθητῆς δέ, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς φησι, γέγονε Πανταίνου. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν αἱ Ὑποτυπώσεις. Clement's designation of Pantaenus as "really a Sicilian bee" in *Strom.* I 1, 11, 2¹⁰⁶ alludes to his learning, both in the field of Scripture, which is emphasised in the immediate context, and in that of the liberal arts and philosophy. This is confirmed by the use of the bee metaphor in *Strom.* I 6, 33, 5–6 as well, in reference to the indispensable formation provided by philosophy, preliminary to Christian theology (cf. IV 3, 9, 2). This seems to have been a conviction common to Pantaenus and Clement, and later also to Origen. Indeed, Pantaenus's allegoresis of Scripture—just like Clement's and Origen's—was informed by philosophy; now, as I have mentioned, this was the case also with Stoic allegoresis, and Pantaenus, not accidentally, was reckoned a Stoic at least by Eusebius.

In connection with Pantaenus's identity as a Christian philosopher and philosophical exegete, it is meaningful that Origen praised him highly in a letter reported by Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* VI 19, 12–14), who had direct access to Origen's letters, which he collected, ordered, and kept in the Caesarea library (*Hist. eccl.* VI 36, 3). In this letter Origen felt the need to defend himself for his interest in philosophy, obviously due to accusations levelled against him for being a Christian philosopher by Christians who were suspicious of philosophy

Gospels to compose his own kind of Gospel: Richard Bauckham, "Did Papias Write History or Exegesis?" *JTS* 65 (2014) 463–88.

105 See Ilaria Ramelli, "Μυστήριον negli Στρωματεῖς di Clemente: aspetti di continuità con la tradizione allegorica greca," in Angela Mazzanti (ed.), *Il volto del mistero. Mistero e religione nella cultura religiosa tardoantica* (Castel Bolognese, 2006), 83–120; Anrew Dinan, "Ἀνύγμια and ἀνέντρομα in the Works of Clement of Alexandria," *SP* 44 (2010) 175–81.

106 Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* V 11, 1, identifies this "bee" with Pantaenus. Arguments for this identification are adduced by Ilaria Ramelli, "Osservazioni sulle origini del Cristianesimo in Sicilia," *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 53 (1999) 1–15.

(perhaps on the grounds of the heresiological cliché of heresies stemming from philosophy).¹⁰⁷ He explained that, while he was studying Scripture, he was approached by “heretics,” philosophers, and experts in “the Greek disciplines;” therefore, he had “to examine both the heretics’ opinions and what the philosophers claimed to say concerning the truth.” He adduces the examples of Pantaenus and Heraclas, both of them Christian philosophers in Alexandria, whom he declares to imitate. According to Origen in this letter, Pantaenus had an excellent preparation in philosophy and Greek disciplines, that is, the liberal arts. That Pantaenus was well known to Origen is also testified to by Alexander of Alexandria, who in a letter to Origen says that he had come to know Origen through Pantaenus and Clement.¹⁰⁸

Apart from a passage at the beginning of Clement’s own *Stromateis* (I 1, 11, 1–2, in which, as I said, a reference to him as the last and best of Clement’s teachers is highly probable), Clement’s reports on Pantaenus are all witnessed by Eusebius, who also speaks of him and his mission to India in *Hist. eccl.* v 10. Here, after saying that he was a Stoic philosopher, famous for his learning, Eusebius states that Pantaenus was a teacher in Alexandria. That he was the founder of the Didaskaleion there is doubtful, being probably due to Eusebius’s desire to trace an institutional continuity, with the Pantaneus-Clement-Origen succession. Eusebius reports that Pantaenus also became “the announcer of the Gospel of Christ to Eastern peoples, sent as he was as far as the land of the Indians.”¹⁰⁹ According to Jerome (*Vir. ill.* 36), Pantaenus was sent at the request of Indian ambassadors. It seems that they knew something about Christianity. Indeed, according to Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* v 10, 3),

107 See Ramelli, “Origen, Patristic Philosophy.”

108 Cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* vi 14, 9.

109 Eusebius does not say who the sender of Pantaenus was. It is unlikely that at that time Alexandria already had a monarchic episcopate and that this controlled Christian schools in Alexandria, as it was the case in Eusebius’s day, when the bishop of Alexandria controlled the Didaskaleion and appointed its director (thus, precisely in the time of Eusebius, Athanasius appointed Didymus, a faithful follower of Origen). Therefore, it is improbable that Eusebius’s source, perhaps Origen or Clement, mentioned an Alexandrian bishop as the sender of Pantaenus. Jerome, later, adds this detail, claiming that Pantaenus was sent to India by Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria (*Vir. ill.* 36). Jerome provides this piece of information in *Ep.* 70, 4 as well. See Ilaria Ramelli, “La missione di Panteno,” in Cristiano Dognini and *eadem*, *Gli Apostoli in India nella tradizione patristica e nella letteratura sanscrita* (Milan: Medusa, 2002), ch. 3; *eadem*, “Early Christian Missions from Alexandria to ‘India’: Institutional Transformations and Geographical Identifications,” *Augustinianum* 51 (2011) 221–31.

when Pantaenus reached India, he found that there existed already Christian communities who possessed a Semitic redaction of the Gospel of Matthew. Thus, it would seem that these Indian Christians felt the need for a more learned and “philosophical” deepening and interpretation of the Gospel message they had already received, and to this end they turned to Alexandria.¹¹⁰ Here, indeed, Pantaenus is very likely to have been involved in philosophical allegoresis of Scripture—possibly after the model of both the Stoics and Philo—and to have contributed to the transmission of this way of delving into the “mysteries of Scripture” to Clement as well as Origen.

It is precisely on the basis of his figural exegesis of Scripture that Pantaenus seems to have supported, at least for Christians, the doctrine of the eventual universal restoration, which also was embraced by both Clement (in a more vestigial form) and Origen (in a more developed form).¹¹¹

Our Pantaenus used to say that prophecy, most of the time, employs expressions that have no precise chronological determination, and it uses the present tense instead of the future, or, on the contrary, instead of the past. . . . All those who come from the same race and have chosen the same faith and justice (or justification) will be one and the same body (ἐν σῶμα), in that they will be *restored into the same unity* (εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐνότητα ἀποκαταστησόμενοι).¹¹²

Pantaenus seems to apply the concept of apokatastasis to the idea of the final return of all to unity—which will be developed especially by Origen and Eriugena—and to buttress this concept by means of at least two scriptural echoes: 1 Cor 12:12 (*one and the same body*) and Eph 4:13 (*the unity*).

This is a significant example of how exegetical strategies and theological doctrines were transmitted together, as I have already shown above in the case of Philo’s transmission of exegeses and theological doctrines to Clement

110 See Ilaria Ramelli, “La missione di Panteno in India,” in C. Baffioni (ed.), *La diffusione dell’eredità classica nell’età tardoantica e medievale. Atti del Seminario Nazionale di Studio, Napoli-Sorrento 29–31. X. 1998* (Alessandria, 2000), 95–106; *eadem*, *Gli apostoli in India*, Ch. 3; *eadem*, “Early Christian Missions from Alexandria to ‘India.’”

111 For Clement see my “*Stromateis* VII and Clement’s Hints of the Theory of Apokatastasis,” in Matyáš Havrda, Vít Hušek, and Jana Plátová (eds.), *The Seventh Book of the Stromateis. Proceedings of the Colloquium on Clement of Alexandria, Olomouc, October 21–23, 2010* (VChr Suppl. 117; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 239–57; for Origen see my *The Christian Doctrine of Apokatastasis*, the chapter devoted to him.

112 *Ecl.* 56, 2–3.

as well as to Origen and Gregory of Nyssa. The same was probably the case with Pantaenus's influence on Clement and Origen. Not only Pantaenus's, but even Philo's doctrine of apokatastasis, albeit different from that of universal salvation and involving only the restoration of the soul and, apparently, that of Israel, influenced Origen a great deal, and probably Clement as well.¹¹³

¹¹³ See Ilaria Ramelli, "Philo's Doctrine of Apokatastasis: Philosophical Sources, Exegetical Strategies, and Patristic Aftermath," *SPhilo* 26 (2014) 29–55.

The Bible in Alexandria: Clement between Philo and Origen*

Marco Rizzi

1 The Bible in Alexandria: One Text, Three Readings

While I was thinking about the title and the contents of my paper for this conference on the comprehensive topic of “Clement and the Bible,” I was requested by the Society of Biblical Literature to write a (very) short contribution for the Bible Odyssey Project—a web site promoted by SBL and devoted to introducing the ordinary reader to the world of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, their history, meanings and legacy. The assigned task was “Philo, Clement and Origen,” an enticing but daunting challenge since I was only allowed a maximum of six hundred words.¹

Some weeks later, the organizing committee assigned me the task of giving the final lecture of this conference. I was not so sure it was a good idea, but this has offered me the opportunity to develop more widely some aspects of that short comparison sketched for SBL, broaden my perspectives and discard my original intention of dealing only with Clement’s exegetical tools. In this way, I hope to be not too inadequate at closing three days of intense intellectual commitment on a shared subject of academic and historical interest, but above all, three days of friendship among us all and of testimony to a religious and cultural tradition that still lives and inspires.

It is not difficult to understand where the request by SBL originates from: All three great biblical interpreters spent all or at least a significant part of their lives in the city of Alexandria, which marked decisively their human, cultural and religious experience, so that the appellation of “Alexandrian” has become a common epithet for each, even though only Philo spent his entire life in the capital of Egypt. In the biblical geography of ancient times, Alexandria is second in importance only to Jerusalem—a not insignificant fact, which strongly affected the trio’s attitude toward the Scriptures. In this regard, we can discern three main factors which stem from the religious and cultural environment

* I would like to thank Judith Kovacs for her help in improving the English text of this paper.

1 The entry is now accessible at: <http://www.bibleodyssey.org/en/places/related-articles/philo-clement-and-origen.aspx>.

of the Egyptian city.² Two are obvious and the third is also well known, but I think they deserve a closer, but brief examination, before going on with my exposition.

First of all, in the eyes of Philo, Clement and Origen, the “Bible” was a Greek translation called *Septuaginta* which originated in Alexandria some centuries before; they were well aware of the deep implications of this location. Even though the etiological legend, codified by the so-called *Epistle of Aristeeas*, certified the divine origin of the *Septuaginta*, its secondary nature (in respect to the Hebrew Bible) allowed the Alexandrian interpreters not to be overly strict in submitting to the linguistic materiality of the text and impeded its reification.³ In the second place, it is precisely the status of the *Septuaginta* as a translation which, on a theoretical level, paves the way for the main feature of Alexandrian exegesis, i.e. allegory. Only within a conceptual framework that excludes direct and univocal correspondence between what is said and what is signified is it possible to apply to a linguistic object, which the Bible is, the platonic two-fold scheme of sensible world and intelligible world, which constitutes the core of any allegorical reading.⁴ Finally, the allegorical way of reading the Bible opens its message not only to the audience of the religious community, within which the Bible and its exegesis take their place, but at the same time to a variety of listeners who differ in orientations of life, degrees of education and intellectual skills.⁵ Only under this condition, for Philo, Clement and Origen, did it become possible to integrate into the biblical exegesis the scientific and cultural achievements of the ancient world, codified into the pattern of the ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία and physically contained in the Alexandrian Library and Museum.⁶

Ancient historians and modern scholars have stressed the elements of exegetical continuity between Philo and Clement, Clement and Origen, Origen

2 The bibliography about late antique Alexandria is very large; for a recent overview, see the impressive volumes edited on the occasion of the exhibition *Alexandrie la divine*, sous la direction de Charles Mélé and Frédéric Möri; en collaboration avec Sydney H. Aufrère, Gilles Dorival, Alain Le Boulluec, 2 vols. (Genève: Éditions de la Baconnière, 2014).

3 For a wide reflection on the statute of translation in the ancient world, see M. Bettini, *Vertere. Un'antropologia della traduzione nella cultura antica* (Torino: Einaudi, 2012).

4 See C. Blönnigen, *Die Griechische Ursprung der jüdisch-hellenistischen Allegorese und ihre Rezeption in der alexandrinischen Patristik* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1992).

5 See D. Dawson, *Allegorical readers and cultural revision in ancient Alexandria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

6 For a recent overview, see M. Berti and V. Costa, *La Biblioteca di Alessandria: storia di un paradiso perduto* (Tivoli: Tored, 2010). For the origin of the *Septuaginta* within the cultural environment of the Alexandrian Library, see N.L. Collins, *The Library in Alexandria and the Bible in Greek* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

and the subsequent Christian allegorical tradition,⁷ starting with Eusebius who linked Philo to Christianity and who created an imaginary διαδοχή in the supposed Alexandrian Christian School from Pantaenus to Clement and Origen.⁸ Their shared way of reading the Bible seems to overcome, at the level of method, their differences in religious conceptions. No doubt they also all conceived of the Bible as containing a revelation by God which human beings were urged to investigate with care, given its condition of neither immediate nor easy comprehension; and they maintained that knowledge of God constituted the final aim of this revelation. But what kind of revelation does the Bible exactly contain? Who are its intended audience? And how does it function in leading humanity to the knowledge of God, especially with respect to other forms of knowledge? The answers to these and other similar questions do mark out the difference among the three Alexandrians; a theme I would like to discuss. In doing so, I also hope to show Clement's peculiar position, which was to delimit a boundary never afterwards reached, even by Origen himself. My exposition will be twofold: firstly, a presentation of some exegetical conceptions of Philo and Origen in the light of the above-posed questions; secondly, a treatment of the same topics in Clement in order to illustrate my main point concerning Clement's unequalled originality.

2 Philo: The Text and the Life

Recent scholarship has rightly pointed out that Philo's allegorical exegesis has two concurrent aims: on the one hand, an apologetic or *ad extra* scope, which consists in making the Mosaic Law and the Jewish way of life intellectually comprehensible and socially acceptable to his Greek fellow citizens; on the other hand, an *ad intra* scope, which aims to urge Alexandrian Jews to improve their understanding of the biblical text as a whole, by going beyond the literal meaning in order to both access the intelligible world and grasp the inner nature of reality, according to the Platonist two-fold epistemology.⁹ The famous statement by Philo, according to which the literal meaning is the body of the

7 M. Simonetti, *Lettera e/o allegoria. Un contributo alla storia dell'esegesi patristica* (Roma: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1985); C. Kannengiesser, *Handbook of patristic exegesis. The Bible in Ancient Christianity* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

8 Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* v 10, 1–4; 6, 6.

9 See the overview by E. Birnbaum, "Two millennia later: general resources and particular perspectives on Philo the Jew," *Currents in biblical research* 4 (2005–2006) 241–76. For a comprehensive approach to Philo's exegesis, see R. Radice, *Allegoria e paradigmi etici in Filone di Alessandria. Commentario al Legum allegoriae* (Milano: Vita e pensiero, 2000).

Bible, but the allegorical one is its soul¹⁰ and where both must be kept in due consideration, was directed both to a Pagan and a Jewish audience. In doing so, the former could understand that the biblical commands and narratives had a second, immaterial layer of meaning, which would not deny, but on the contrary confirm the literal value of the prescriptions; the latter could improve their self-awareness in observing their own customs and obeying God's law, thanks to a richer understanding of its deepest reasons.

In this way, Philo places the Bible exactly on the boundary between his community and the surrounding Greek culture: While Jews live according to the biblical law, Greek can approach it on an allegorical level. The two-fold nature of the biblical text (literal/allegorical) corresponds to the traditional biblical opposition between *λάος* and *ἔθνη*, Jews and Pagans. Both, however, are ultimately called by God to obedience and knowledge, of which the goal of human life consists. In sound Platonic fashion, Philo affirms that "the beginning and end of happiness is to be able to see God. . . . But this cannot happen to him who has not made his soul a sanctuary and altogether a shrine of God."¹¹ Here, we are fully within the eudaimonistic conception of ethics according to ancient philosophy: For Philo, contemplation is a matter of ethics, not of theology, insofar as *θεωρία* is also the ultimate step in constructing a sage.¹² This is precisely the reason why, from a historical perspective, God gave the Law to Moses on Mount Sinai. Since human efforts are not enough to attain this goal, the Bible contains a divine pedagogy which teaches the way of God, as exemplified by Abram's journey, ending in "the land whose fruit is the sure and steadfast apprehension of the wisdom of God, by which through his dividing powers He separates all things and keeps untouched by evil those that are good."¹³

It is noteworthy that Philo, in his *De congressu quaerendae eruditionis gratia*, interprets the figure of Abram's maidservant as the Greek *ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία* or *προπαιδευματα*, necessary for the ethical preparation of the soul on the journey towards God:

For we are not capable as yet of receiving the impregnation of virtue [Sarah] unless we have first mated with her handmaiden [Hagar]; and

¹⁰ Philo, *Migr.* 92–93.

¹¹ Philo, *QE* II 51 (all the translations of Philo's writings are taken from the Loeb Classical Library series).

¹² This point has been made clear by J. Daniélou, *Philon d'Alexandrie* (Paris: Fayard, 1958).

¹³ Philo, *Her.* 314. The Greek text of this passage is corrupted and variously emended, but its general sense is clear.

the handmaiden of wisdom is the culture gained by προπαιδευμάτων ἐγκύκλιος μουσική. . . . Culture (τὰ ἐγκύκλια) precedes virtue; the one is a road which leads to the other. The greatest of all themes [i.e. objects of study, ὑπόθεσις] is virtue, for it deals with the greatest of materials, that is the whole life of man. Naturally, then, virtue will employ no minor kind of introduction, but grammar, geometry, astronomy, rhetoric, music, and all the other branches of intellectual study.¹⁴

In this way, Philo can legitimate the integration of Greek (philosophical) culture within biblical interpretation. Its use pertains primarily to the ethical dimension of intellectual life, according to the intellectualistic feature of ancient ethics shared by Philo. Divine pedagogy, as presented in the Bible, implies, on the one hand, a personal appropriation of the ethical contents of the Bible, but allows, on the other hand, a knowledge of the nature of God himself by means of analogy.¹⁵

While obedience is the first step toward knowledge of God, God reveals himself in the intelligible world contained within his Wisdom or Logos, but also within the sensible world in a lower and derived form.¹⁶ On its turn, the Bible stands in derived relation to the Logos, but in no case is the Logos itself as Philo explicitly states: “(The) Book is [Moses’s] name for the Logos of God, in which have been inscribed and engraved the structures of all else (τὰς τῶν ἄλλων συστάσεις).”¹⁷ Since God is the creator of both the intelligible and sensible worlds, the acknowledgement of God’s rule over reality means to submit oneself to Mosaic Law, both in its intellectual and material dimensions.¹⁸ Allegory allows one to overcome the limits of the written text and access the inner structure of the reality, by going beyond the literal understanding; the reader, then, “passes on to allegorical interpretation (τὰς τροπικὰς ἀποδόσεις) and recognizes that the letter is to the oracle but as the shadow to the substance, and that the higher values therein revealed are what really and truly exist.”¹⁹ In this way, the Bible enables its (allegorical) reader to grasp such parallelisms on a noetic level, but accomplish his or her *reditus ad Deum* on an ethical level, by the observance of God’s commands. In Philo’s view, the Bible

14 Philo, *Congr.* 9–11.

15 G. Masi, *Lo spiritualismo ellenistico. La grande svolta del pensiero occidentale* (Bologna: CLUEB, 1995), 96–105.

16 See, for example, Philo, *Deus* 31–32; *Opif.* 25.

17 Philo, *Leg.* I 19.

18 See Philo, *Mos.* II 67.

19 Philo, *Conf.* 190.

maintains its original Jewish value as a legal code, which must govern the life of mankind and above all its religious aspects. At the same time, however, the divine cult, as expressed at its height by the role of the Highest Priest within the Temple, also becomes the best way to progress in knowledge of the sensible and the intelligible world, according to platonic epistemology and allegorical reading. For Philo, the Bible is firmly in possession of the Jews, who display its contents to foreigners through both its Greek text and their lives; the duty of the external observer is to realize that both must be understood in allegorical terms as the highest form of knowing and serving the unique God.

3 Origen: A New Noetic World

Origen was the first Christian writer to reflect widely upon the relationship between the text of the *Septuaginta* and the text of the Hebrew Bible. Before him, scattered Christian reflections on this theme were limited to the defence of the reliability of the Greek text of those passages where it differs from the Hebrew original.²⁰ Origen is well aware of such differences, and faces them with a philological approach which leads him to the conclusion that not even the Greek text is absolutely perfect (due to the errors by scribes), while the Hebrew text of his times is affected by Antichristian censorship. His general attitude, however, is more comprehensive and he theorizes a sharp distinction between the two versions. Origen's terminology presents many expressions that contrast the two: "our manuscripts" / "the Hebrew manuscripts;" "our Scriptures" / "the Scriptures according to the Jews;" "What is by us" / "What is by the Jews" and so on.²¹ Moreover, Origen is aware of the existence of other Greek translations, along with the *Septuaginta*, as shown by his *Hexapla* and some passages in his writings.²² But in Origen's eyes, the decisive feature of the *Septuaginta* consists in the fact that it was consigned to the Church by divine Providence; this makes the Greek Bible intrinsically superior to the Hebrew original and the other Greek translations.²³ Its status as a translation does not imply a derived and less consistent value; on the contrary, it is precisely the

20 See, for example, Justin, *Dial.* 71–73.

21 See, for example, Origen, *Comm. Jo.* VI 212; *Hom. Jer.* 14, 3; 20, 5; *Ep. Afr.* 6, 7; 3, 18. On this topic, see G. Dorival, "Origène, témoin des textes de l'Ancien Testament," in J.-M. Auwers and A. Wénin (éds.), *Lectures et relectures de la Bible. Festschrift P.-M. Bogaert* (Leuven: Peeters, 1999), 351–66.

22 See, for example, Origen, *Comm. Matt.* XV 14; *Hom. Jer.* 15, 5; 16, 5.

23 Origen, *Ep. Afr.* 8.

Greek language which permits the spread of Christianity to the whole world—another effect of the operation of divine Providence.

Such an appreciation of the *Septuaginta* has two direct consequences. Firstly, Origen inserts himself into a chain of interpreters who claimed for Christianity the full possession of the Greek Bible, at least from Justin onward. As a consequence, the only possible location for the *Septuaginta* is restricted to the sphere of the Church and its life. In contrast to Philo's apologetic view and especially—as we will see—to Clement's universalism, for Origen the Bible can be read and understood only within the Church and its living experience, even if Origen does not reduce the latter solely to its liturgical setting.²⁴

In this way, Origen's concentration on the Bible and its interpretation is much more compelling than for Philo. The revealed Scriptures constitute a noetic world, accomplished and self-contained, which must be investigated by itself and not as a mere mirror of reality, as in the case of the Jewish apologist. In Origen, there is a strict correlation between reading the Bible and reading the reader's self; as he states in the fourth book of *De principis*,²⁵ the progress in knowledge of biblical contents is paralleled by the growth of the spiritual condition of the interpreter, a role which, according to Origen's view, every Christian must assume. For Philo, the microcosm, the human being, must correspond in ethical terms with the inner structure of the macrocosm created and ruled by God and its Logos. For Origen, by contrast, the correlation between microcosm and macrocosm is completely absorbed into the noetic plan of the comprehension of the Bible: while reading it, the faithful can simultaneously grasp the inner structure of the created world (in both its spiritual and material dimensions) as well as both God's action and each reader's real place within it.

In such a vision, the Bible acquires a peculiar status due to its intrinsic relationship with the Logos of God. The entire Bible contains the revelation of Christ; but Christ himself, as Logos, is the Word of God, so Christ and the Bible can be identified, at least to a certain extent. The divine Logos of God was embodied in the flesh of the human Christ; in the same way the Logos as divine Word is veiled by the "embodiment" into the literal meaning of the Scripture. So, as the Apostles were able to perceive Christ's divine nature beyond His flesh, the interpreter must catch His Spirit that is present and operating beyond the *littera* of the biblical text.²⁶ To see the divine Logos in the text of the Bible through the eyes of faith constitutes the fundamental character

²⁴ See, for example, Origen, *Hom. Gen.* 2, 6.

²⁵ Origen, *Princ.* IV 2, 4.

²⁶ Origen, *Hom. Lev.* 1, 1.

of Origen's exegesis. In this way, Scripture becomes the place for belief, where it becomes possible a dynamic parallelism between the reading of the text / Christ and the reading of the self of the reader:

We shall seek after the breadth of the wisdom and knowledge of God, in which the world cannot constrict us. For I return to the wide open fields of the Holy Scripture; I would seek the spiritual meaning of the word of God, and in it no narrowness of distress will confine me. I shall ride through the most spacious places of the mystical and spiritual understanding.²⁷

However, we must not forget that the reader's journey does not represent the original movement of the Bible. It is the Logos who makes himself present and accessible to the reader, and only thanks to the *κατάβασις* of the Logos into the text, can the reader start his or her anagogic journey to God. While for Philo the Bible describes the ascent of the soul towards God, for Origen the whole message of the Scripture revolves around the descent and ascension of the embodied Logos in order to save fallen rational creatures, according to Origen's framework of pre-existence and *ἀποκατάστασις*. In this way, the historical figure of Christ determines the very conditions of possibility for a true understanding of biblical contents, which can only be obtained by passing through and transcending the historical dimension of the text, or, according to Origen's terminology, its meaning, *καθ' ἱστορίαν*. Beyond the *littera*, allegory allows one both to be in touch with the divine dimension of the Logos contained in the biblical text and to grasp his features, albeit only partially, since divinity cannot be circumscribed within the limits of human comprehension. As Bernard McGinn has noted,²⁸ it is a peculiar credit of two feminine scholars, Marguerite Harl and Karen Torjesen,²⁹ to have made clear that biblical exegesis constitutes the existential location where Origen best lives out his faith, as testified by the famous statement on his mystical experiences in the first homily on Song.³⁰ For Origen, the goal of human life can be obtained only through the Christian exegesis of the Bible.

27 Origen, *Comm. Rom.* VII 11 (transl. Thomas P. Scheck, Origen, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, Books 1–5, Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2009).

28 B. McGinn, *The foundations of mysticism* (London: SCM Press, 1992), 112–7.

29 M. Harl, *Origène et la fonction révélatrice du Verbe incarné* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1958); K.J. Torjesen, *Hermeneutical procedure and theological method in Origen's exegesis* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1986).

30 Origen, *Hom. Cant.* 1, 7.

There are three main consequences of such a vision of the Bible and its functioning which must be stressed here. Firstly, the Bible, or at least its full significance is reduced only to a context of belief. The *Septuaginta* constitutes the core of the life of the Church and Christians. Obviously, it can also be read outside of the ecclesiastical *milieu* and become a point of convergence and attraction for non-believers, thanks to a “philosophical” reading of its contents in the manner of Philo (and Clement); but for a correct and fuller understanding it is necessary to trespass the boundary and assume the “eyes of the faith,” which can detect the true dimension of the Divine Word, the Logos, veiled by the human words of the text.

Secondly, in Origen’s view, ἐγκύλιος παιδεία or προπαιδεύματα are finalized to support and facilitate the biblical interpreter in his or her exegetical activity. The interpreter is then better able to deal with every single aspect of the text thanks to grammatical, rhetorical and numerological tools and so on, as Origen describes in a famous passage of his letter to Gregory³¹ and as factually demonstrated by his entire work. Thus, the intellectual education provided by Greek culture and philosophy is no longer a goal or value in itself, only insofar as it can be useful for explaining the Scriptures. The θεωρία of the Logos, of which consists the supreme aim of human life, acquires a pure noetic shape, not an eudaimonistic one; this marks a departure from the ancient classical hierarchy of the philosophical disciplines, which instead culminated in ethics, as evidenced in Philo. Of course, ethics and asceticism are necessary even now; but they are at the service of the intellectual knowledge of God, as practised by Origen in his own life according to Eusebius’ testimony:

For a great number of years he continued to live like a philosopher in this guise, putting aside everything that might lead to youthful lusts; all day long his discipline was to perform labours of no easy character (οὐ μικροῦς ἀσκήσεως καμάτων), and the greater part of the night he devoted himself to studying the divine scripture.³²

Happiness is a matter of the next life, not the present.

The third main consequence of Origen’s understanding of the Bible affects the role and the features of the Christian teacher. In marked difference to Clement, Origen subsumes Christian teaching almost entirely into exegetical writing, especially in commentaries; this is the literary and intellectual

³¹ Origen, *Ep. Greg.* 1–2.

³² Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* VI 3, 9 (transl. J.E.L. Oulton, Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History, Books VI–X*, Loeb Classical Library, 265; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1932).

pattern which can be potentially extended in continuous and infinite form, as the Logos is, by adding one interpretation to another of the same biblical verse in a never ending hermeneutical process. Of course, Origen's life was beyond reproach, and he requested the same of his fellows believers; his teaching in his classroom in Cesarea was effective, but even there and in his preaching in front of that congregation, Origen never ceased to urge his hearers to a personal appropriation and deepening of the message of the Scripture:

To be sure, if someone can, at leisure, bring together Scripture with Scripture, and compare divine Scripture, and fit together *spiritual things with spiritual* (1 Cor 2:13), we are not unmindful that he will discover in this passage many secrets of a profound and hidden mystery which we cannot now bring forth either because of the shortness of time or the fatigue of the listeners.³³

The growth in exegesis is paralleled by the growth in spiritual life: Origen's commentaries provide the best guide for attaining both.

4 Clement: A Universal Call to Knowledge and Salvation

Clement was well aware of the origins of the *Septuaginta*, which he knew from Irenaeus or maybe directly from the letter of Aristeeas or the Alexandrian environment.³⁴ Clement indicates a precise reason for the translation, by reconnecting it to the action of divine Providence, but inserting it in his general scheme of the "double testament"—i.e. the Bible for the Jews, philosophy and παιδεία for the Greeks. Within a quite bizarre interpretation of the Gospel parable of the sower, Clement affirms that

Greek preparatory culture with philosophy itself (προπαιδεία ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ σὺν καὶ αὐτῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ), is shown to have come down from God to men, not with a definite direction but in the way in which showers fall down on the good land, and on the dunghill, and on the houses.³⁵

33 Origen, *Hom. Gen 2*, 6 (transl. R.E. Heine, Origen, *Homilies on Genesis and Exodus*, Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1982).

34 *Strom.* I 22, 148–149.

35 *Strom.* I 7, 37, 1 (transl. A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, *ANF* 2:308, revised when necessary, as with all those which follow).

He concludes:

Wherefore also the Scriptures were translated into the language of the Greeks, in order that they might never be able to allege the excuse of ignorance, inasmuch as they are able to hear also what we have in our hands, if they only wish.³⁶

In this way, faith or adherence to Mosaic Law does not constitute a precondition for interpreting the Bible, since its contents are, at least on a preliminary level, self-evident to the eyes of those who have prepared the soil of their souls through the practice of philosophy; to such souls it is possible to access the inner significance of the Bible, thanks to specific teaching which can lead to the gift of faith. Of course, the very concept of philosophy must be redefined, but Clement does it in a manner which fits well with not only his own aims, but also the general philosophical movement of his times. Leaving aside the traditional orthodoxies of philosophical belonging, in Clement's eyes, "philosophy" is whatever has been well said by every philosophical school, according to a view which leads him to proclaim explicitly the eclectic feature of his conception.³⁷

Such an eclectic view of philosophy is paralleled by the full integration of the Greek προπαιδεύματα within the parameters of biblical exegesis, since divine providence has translated the Hebrew Bible into the same language of those preliminary disciplines; in this way, it has made the biblical contents comprehensible to all humanity. Philosophy paved the way for Greeks to read the Bible, even though they did not take the bait. In my opinion, this is a central aspect of Clement's thought and better explains the topic of the "theft of the Greeks," which he inherited from the previous Christian apologetics and upon which he dwells at length in the first book of the *Stromateis*.³⁸ Chronology testifies that Greek thinkers plagiarized biblical revelation, but now the *Septuaginta* can directly help Greek readers to match the partial truths of philosophy with the original and true version, especially after the Incarnation of the Logos which represents the fulfilment of God's pedagogical plan. It is precisely this point which makes Clement's universalism more inclusive than any other.

Clement's approach, however, is neither simplistic nor ingenuous. He is well aware of the obstacles within the Greek παιδεία, which can mislead readers and separate humanity from biblical truth. Sophistry, an overly strict

³⁶ *Strom.* I 7, 38, 3.

³⁷ See *Strom.* I 7, 37, 6.

³⁸ *Strom.* I 1, 17–5, 29.

philosophical identity or, indeed, a Christian's refusal of any learned skill ("the naked faith," ψιλή πίστις) are all dangerous approaches to truth and the Bible, which Clement denounces at the beginning of the *Stromateis*.³⁹ To overcome any difficulty, the help of a teacher is required. As is well known, the role of teaching is central to Clement's theological and pedagogical project, and it seems superfluous to illustrate it in detail here.⁴⁰ I would like to stress only one point. In Clement's view, the human teacher must act in the same way in which divine pedagogy has acted in human history through the Logos, both as recorded in biblical history and in his indirect influence on Greek philosophy, and finally in His incarnation which constitutes the plenitude of revelation. This implies that the human teacher must develop biblical exegesis in different steps according to the way in which Scripture contains different truths: firstly, the human teacher must deal with the immediate, historical and literal meanings of the Bible, which is itself devoted mainly to ethics; secondly, he can approach to the deepest teachings of the Logos, which are scattered in the biblical text under the surface of its *littera*, by means of philosophical tools:

Philosophy, catching a spark from the divine Scripture, is visible in a few. . . . When then one, having got an inkling of the subject, kindles it within in his soul by desire and study, he sets everything in motion afterwards in order to know it. For that which one does not apprehend, neither does he desire it, nor does he embrace the advantage flowing from it. Subsequently, therefore, the Gnostic at last imitates the Lord, as far as allowed to men, having received a sort of quality akin to the Lord Himself, in order to gain assimilation to God. But those who are not proficient in knowledge cannot judge the truth by rule.⁴¹

It is noteworthy that at the opening of book six, devoted to the true Christian gnostic and from where this quotation arises, Clement merely recapitulates his theory of the "theft of the Greeks" and its relation to the biblical message, already stated in the first book; in this way, he institutes a clear parallelism with that section. Consequently, we can conclude that he explains how the true gnostic can offer an adequate, advanced interpretation of the Bible. In the

39 *Strom.* I 9, 43–45.

40 M. Rizzi, "Il didaskalos nella tradizione alessandrina: da Clemente all'Oratio panegyrica in Origenem," in G. Firpo and G. Zecchini (eds.), *Magister: aspetti culturali e istituzionali* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'orso, 1999), 177–99.

41 *Strom.* VI 17, 149, 1; 150, 1.

general framework of his anti-gnostic argument, Clement unifies philosophical reasoning, biblical exegesis and the ecclesiastical tradition:

Those who are willing may find the truth. But in the case of those who adduce unreasonable excuses, their condemnation is unanswerable. For do they deny or admit that there is such a thing as demonstration?... There being demonstration, then, it is necessary to condescend to questions, and to ascertain by way of demonstration by the Scriptures themselves how the heresies failed, and how in the truth alone and in the ancient Church is both the exactest knowledge, and the best sect.⁴²

Faith is necessary to comprehend the Bible, but philosophical reasoning supports and confirms the faith of the Church; in Clement's vision there is an intrinsic relationship.

The deepest truth of the Scriptures is veiled and must be discovered by means of a symbolic reading, which can connect its scattered parts throughout the text; precisely in this consists the specific function of the "gnostic" teacher, whose teaching adopts the same features of biblical exegesis, as shown by the *Stromateis* themselves. As Louis Roberts has pointed out,⁴³ the *Stromateis* require a specific contribution on the part of the reader, whose intellectual capacity is tested by the ideas scattered in the text and which stimulate his or her interpretative intelligence. The work, which is subdivided into more or less homogeneous sections (κεφάλαια), can be understood only when one studies it repeatedly, reconnecting its dispersed and intermixed elements. Its systematic re-composition, in a true act of reading and scholarly discussion under the guidance of the gnostic teacher, allows the reader to see the organic nature and overall architecture of the thought the *Stromateis* contains, mirroring the ecclesiastical tradition which leads the interpreter to the understanding of the Bible.⁴⁴ At the same time, since the *Stromateis* intertwine quotations from the Bible with quotations from Greek philosophy and culture, the reader must also grasp the connections that exist between the biblical message and classical παιδεία in order to properly determine the distinctions between Divine wisdom and human wisdom, giving to each of them the value it deserves.

⁴² *Strom.* VII 15, 92, 1–3.

⁴³ L. Roberts, "The literary forms of the *Stromateis*," *SecCent* (1981) 211–22.

⁴⁴ See M. Rizzi, "Il fondamento epistemologico della mistica in Clemente Alessandrino," in L.F. Pizzolato and M. Rizzi (eds.), *Origene maestro di vita spirituale—Origen master of spiritual life* (Milano: Vita e pensiero, 2001), 91–122.

Biblical exegesis and gnostic teaching do not exhaust the noetic activity of human knowledge. Clement draws a more profound analogy between the truth-Logos, co-eternal and co-extensive with God, and the cosmic aeon, which gathers into itself past, present and future. The articulation of the parts (μέρη) of the cosmos is strictly connected with temporal scansion, which represents the peculiar feature of the created world; thus, “he who brings again together the separate fragments, and makes them one, will without peril, be assured, contemplate the perfect Word, the truth,” as Clement affirms in a programmatic statement from the first book of the *Stromateis*.⁴⁵ Indeed, for Clement, creation constitutes a potential *continuum* which human beings are called to navigate with knowledge, to gather its deepest essence, which coincides precisely with the Logos-truth. The elements in play in this scheme are, on the one hand, the Logos as manifestation of unity and truth, a recognizable expression of God in that He is His image, and, on the other, His articulation in time and space (μέρη), which are peculiar to the cosmos. Bringing together the series of elements so that they coincide is the joint work of revelation (the operation of the Logos from on high) and gnostic progress (the work of human beings from below); the Bible and the “true gnostic” teacher are the map and guide, respectively, in order to assist human beings in attaining that goal.

Thus, the possession of the symbolic method or—as expressed in other terms—of “the enigmatic procedure”⁴⁶ or of “the modes of expression in veiled terms,”⁴⁷ represents the instrument of knowledge which permits the unification of the different aspects of reality and its gnosiological crossing-over, in order to reach the final unitary contemplation of the Logos. Indeed, philosophizing by enigma is typical of both Greek and biblical wisdom,⁴⁸ which “deliver the truth in enigmas, and symbols, and allegories, and metaphors, and such like tropes.”⁴⁹ Of course, the exegetical practice is the best way to learn such a method, according to the style of teaching proper to the *Stromateis*, as seen above. In fact, if reality in its deepest nature constitutes a unitary *continuum*, in this life human beings can grasp this structural feature of the created world only in symbolic terms, i.e. by passing from differentiated exterior manifestations to the progressive perceptions of its intimate unity. This way of reading nature and world is in a perfect analogy with the mechanism of scriptural interpretation, which permits one to transcend the literal word

45 *Strom.* I 13, 57, 6.

46 *Strom.* II 1, 1, 2.

47 *Strom.* V 4, 19, 3.

48 *Strom.* I 14, 60, 1.

49 *Strom.* V 4, 21, 4.

to reach different and infinite grades of spiritual meaning, according to the boundless nature of the Logos. In this context, the following passage from the fifth book of the *Stromateis* is very significant:

Very useful, then, is the mode of symbolic interpretation for many purposes; and it is helpful to sound theology, and to piety, and to the display of intelligence, and the practice of brevity, and the exhibition of wisdom.⁵⁰

Christian revelation, as contained within the Bible, does not constitute a world apart, nor is it concluded in itself. On the contrary, along with Greek philosophical tradition at a lower level, it represents a sort of map of reality, which can help reconnect the threads of human knowledge and experience through a continuous process of symbolic research:

Now seeking is an effort at grasping, and finds the subject by means of certain signs. And discovery is the end and cessation of inquiry, which has now its object in its grasp. And this is knowledge. And this discovery, properly so called, is knowledge, which is the apprehension of the object of search. And they say that a proof is either the antecedent, or the coincident, or the consequent.⁵¹ The discovery, then, of what is sought respecting God, is the teaching through the Son; and the proof of our Saviour being the very Son of God is the prophecies which preceded His coming, announcing Him; and the testimonies regarding Him which attended His birth in the world; in addition, His powers proclaimed and openly shown after His ascension. . . . For the style of the Scriptures is parabolic. Wherefore also the Lord, who was not of the world, came as one who was of the world to men. For He was clothed with all virtue; and it was His aim to lead man, the foster-child of the world, up to the objects of intellect, and to the most essential truths by knowledge, from one world to another.⁵²

Correctly read and understood, the Bible represents a map for such a passage from one world to the next, and Clement's "true gnostic teacher" simultaneously summarizes in himself the features of the Highest Priest, the perfect Christian believer and the philosophical sage:

⁵⁰ *Strom.* v 8, 46, 1.

⁵¹ Chrysippus, *Fr. log.* 102 Arnim.

⁵² *Strom.* VI 15, 121, 4–122, 1 and 126, 3.

These three things, therefore, our philosopher attaches himself to: first, speculation; second, the performance of the precepts; third, the forming of good men;—which, concurring, form the Gnostic. Whichever of these is wanting, the elements of knowledge limp.⁵³

Because of Clement's insistence on the necessity of teaching, in his hands the Bible is neither a superior legal code to be admired and respected, nor is it a pure noetic world to be explored within the Church alone; instead, it serves as a supreme guide, to be shared by all humanity in order to be led through the sensible and intelligible worlds, into this life and the next; a message that still fascinates us all.

53 *Strom.* II 10, 46, 1.

PART 2

Clement between Philosophy and Biblical Theology



Negative Theology and Dialectics in Clement of Alexandria's Understanding of the Status and Function of Scripture

Johannes A. Steenbuch

1 Introduction

Clement of Alexandria is a good example of how Christian theology started to interact positively with Greek philosophy and culture.¹ Osborn argues that Clement fuses Paul and Plato, but gives pre-eminence to Paul.² Rather than subordinating Christian doctrines to Greek philosophy, Clement attempted to understand the latter as implied in the Christian tradition. He quotes the Hebrew Scriptures and the New Testament extensively and is the first to talk of the New Testament as a single, inspired document.³ Hence, there are good reasons for identifying Clement as a “scriptural theologian,” who gives “final authority to the Bible.”⁴ It is, however, equally true that, for Clement, truth itself is in some way beyond words. This idea is connected to his negative theology, which has important ramifications for his views on Scripture.

According to Clement, it is “the mouth of the Lord,” the Holy Spirit, that speaks in Scripture.⁵ It is the Lord himself who speaks through Isaiah, and it is the Lord who speaks through the mouths of the Prophets.⁶ These claims are

1 For references to the *Stromateis*, I have used Otto Stählin, Ludwig Früchtel and Ursula Treu, Clemens Alexandrinus, II (GCS 15; Berlin: Akademie-verlag, 1985) and III (GCS 17; Berlin: Akademie-verlag, 1970). For other texts, I have used those available in the *Sources chrétiennes*. Most translations are based on the somewhat obsolete version from *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 2: *Fathers of the Second Century*, edited by Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson and A. Cleveland Coxe (Buffalo: Christian Literature Publishing, 1885), but have been modified as appropriate. Regarding the translation of New Testament texts, I cite the text of the English Standard Version.

2 Eric F. Osborn, *Clement of Alexandria* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 206.

3 Eric F. Osborn, “Reason and the Rule of Faith in the Second Century AD,” in Rowan Williams (ed.), *The Making of Orthodoxy, Essays in Honour of Henry Chadwick* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), 69.

4 Hans Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the Church of the First Three Centuries* (Stanford University Press, 1969), 202; Osborn, *Clement*, 69.

5 *Protr.* 9, 82, 1.

6 E.g., *Protr.* 1, 8, 3; *Paed.* I 7, 53, 3 etc.

reminiscent of a passage in Acts 1:16, where Peter says: *Brothers, the Scripture had to be fulfilled, which the Holy Spirit spoke beforehand by the mouth of David.* (Acts 1:16). In the Second Epistle of Peter, we are told that *no prophecy was ever produced by the will of man, but men spoke from God as they were carried along by the Holy Spirit.* (2 Pet 1:21). Irenaeus invokes something similar: “The Scriptures are indeed perfect, since they were spoken by the Word of God and His Spirit.”⁷ Irenaeus says however, that this is exactly why we should not try to gain comprehensive insight into the divine mysteries, since we are inferior to the Word of God and his Spirit—inspiration is simultaneously a revelation of God and a bar to the curiosity of human beings.

Something similar occurs in Clement, who on the one hand saw Scripture as divinely inspired, but on the other believed truth itself to be beyond words. When Clement in an important passage in *Stromateis* VII 16 seems to be saying that the belief in the “Scripture and voice of the Lord is the criterion in the discovery of things,”⁸ this hardly means that we can identify “the voice of the Lord” with Scripture. We need to distinguish between Scripture and “the voice of the Lord.” There is, so to speak, a dialectical relationship between the two, which is instructed by Clement’s negative theology. I will explore how this is played out in the following chapters.

First, I introduce Clement’s negative theology by discussing how negative theology makes faith necessary for demonstration using some central passages from *Stromateis* VII 16, in which Clement talks about “the voice of the Lord” and Scripture. I then examine how negative theology makes concealment and symbolic language necessary, and explore the way in which dialectics is needed to break through such symbolic language. I discuss how both philosophy and Scripture has a dialectic function, by working as mutually beneficial causes in the attainment of truth. Finally, I discuss how these things influence Clement’s views on Scripture.

2 Negative Theology and the Need for Faith

Clement is what Mortley has called a “Christian representative of the method of abstraction” in the tradition of Middle-Platonism,⁹ as he takes over the three

7 Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* II 28, 2.

8 *Strom.* VII 16, 95, 4–5.

9 Raoul Mortley, *The Way of Negation, Christian and Greek* (vol. 2 of *From Word to Silence*; Bonn: Hanstein, 1986), 44.

ways of analogy, negation (abstraction) and eminence.¹⁰ Osborn points at the importance of Middle-Platonic theological dualism for Clement's understanding of the reciprocity between the Father and the Son,¹¹ while Hägg finds points of comparison with the views on God's transcendence in Alcinous, Atticus, and Numenius.¹² Clement in particular takes over the negative way as defined in Middle Platonism, though in terms of ἀνάλυσις rather than ἀφαίρεσις.¹³

Clement is often thought of as the first Christian author to systematically use negative theology,¹⁴ although there is evidence that earlier Christian writers used negative theology, especially in polemical contexts.¹⁵ In its basic form, negative theology should be understood simply as the practice of formulating definitions or names by reference to God through denial (ἀπόφασις), abstraction (ἀφαίρεσις) or similar means.

For Philo, who may have been the first to call God ineffable (ἄρρητος) and for early Christian writers, such as Aristides of Athens and later Gregory of Nyssa, the necessity to include some degree of negative theology followed from the distinction between God and everything else, made implicit by the idea of creation.¹⁶ This was also the case for Clement, who says that because God created everything else, then God is in essence remote.¹⁷ Having made human beings of nothing,

God has no natural relation (φυσικὴν σχέσιν) to us neither on the supposition of His having made us of nothing, nor on that of having formed us

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- 10 Raoul Mortley, *Connaissance religieuse et herméneutique chez Clément d'Alexandrie* (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 86–102, here 86.
 - 11 Osborn, *Clement*, 114–31; See Mortley, *The Way of Negation*, 37.
 - 12 Henny F. Hägg, *Clement of Alexandria and the Beginnings of Christian Apophaticism* (Oxford Early Christian Studies; Oxford: OUP, 2006), 75.
 - 13 Mortley, *Connaissance religieuse*, 90.
 - 14 Hägg, *Clement of Alexandria and the Beginnings of Christian Apophaticism*, 3.
 - 15 Darryl W. Palmer, "Atheism, Apologetic, and Negative Theology in the Greek Apologists of the Second Century," *VChr* 37 (1983) 234–59, here 236.
 - 16 Philo, *Spec.* 1, 6–8; *Mos.* 1, 75; Aristides, *Apol. pr.* 2 (Syriac); Robert Sokolowski, *The God of Faith and Reason: Foundations of Christian Theology* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1995); Joseph Wissink, "Two Forms of Negative Theology Explained Using Thomas Aquinas," in *Flight of the Gods: Philosophical Perspectives on Negative Theology* (Fordham University Press, 2000), 106; Harry Wolfson, "Negative Attributes in the Church Fathers and the Gnostic Basilides," *HTR* 50 (1957) 145–56, here 145; Johannes A. Steenbuch, *Doing the Unthinkable* (Ph.D. diss., University of Copenhagen, 2014), 10–2.
 - 17 *Strom.* 11 2, 5, 4.

from matter; since the former did not exist at all, and the latter is totally distinct from God unless we shall dare to say that we are a part of Him, and of the same essence as God.¹⁸

Clement holds that matter is totally distinct from God and the problem with “those who believe not, as to be expected,” is that they “drag all down from heaven, and the region of the invisible, to earth.”¹⁹ God has “bestowed on us ten thousand things in which He does not share (ἀμέτοχος): birth, being Himself unborn and food, He wanting nothing.”²⁰

Though Clement’s epistemology is to some degree grounded on the Platonic distinction between sensible and intelligible, it also corresponds to the distinction between Creator and creation. Clement believes that God is not capable “of being taught (διδακτός) by man, or of being expressed in speech (ῥητός).”²¹ Human speech, Clement posits, is “by nature feeble (ἀσθενής), and incapable of uttering God.” It is impossible to define God’s essence (οὐσία), but even the power (δύναμιν) and the works (ἔργα) of God can be hard to define.²² Clement takes Exod 20:21, where *Moses approached the thick darkness where God was*, as meaning that “God is invisible (ἀόρατος) and ineffable (ἄρρητος).”²³ Not even in the dark cloud on Mount Sinai can God be found: “God is not in darkness or in place, but above (ὑπεράνω) both space and time, and qualities of objects.”²⁴ Clement likewise finds passages from the New Testament that suitably serve as interpretative examples of negative theology, for example, John 1:18.²⁵ Also, Paul’s words about a *third heaven* (2 Cor 12:2–4) refer to God’s ineffability (τὸ ἄρρητον τοῦ θεοῦ) and Clement argues that the divine “cannot be spoken by human power.”²⁶ Invisibility and ineffableness are *the bosom of God* (John 1:18), which seems to mean that every divine mystery is confined or enveloped in these qualities.²⁷ This outlook has consequences for Clement’s views on writing:

18 *Strom.* II 16, 74, 1.

19 *Strom.* II 4, 15, 1; Plato, *Soph.* 246a–b.

20 *Strom.* V 11, 68, 2.

21 *Strom.* V 11, 71, 5.

22 *Strom.* VI 18, 166, 2.

23 *Strom.* V 12, 78, 3. This is reminiscent of Philo, e.g., *Spec.* 1, 47–49.

24 *Strom.* II 2, 6, 1.

25 *Strom.* V 12, 82, 4.

26 *Strom.* V 12, 79, 1.

27 *Strom.* V 12, 81, 3.

The God of the universe, who is above (ὑπέρ) all speech, all thought (νόημα), all conception (ἐννοίαν), can never be committed to writing, being inexpressible in His own power (ἄρρητος ὧν δυνάμει τῇ αὐτοῦ).²⁸

On the one hand, God can only be known “by His own power,” but on the other hand cannot be expressed “even by His own power.” Knowing God is not the same as being able to express God in writing. Clement bases his negative theology on the idea that God is the first principle, which he combines with the Platonic and Pythagorean notion of the One.²⁹ For Clement, the simplicity and primacy of God means that God is also indivisible, without any limit and thus infinite.³⁰ This in turn means that God is ineffable and incomprehensible and can be grasped only through faith. All knowledge refers to more fundamental principles, but God is the most fundamental principle of all and is thus before knowledge, approachable only through faith. Clement believes that faith is both voluntary supposition (ὑπόληψις ἐκούσιος) and anticipation (πρόληψις) undertaken by a reasonable person before comprehension (κατάληψις).³¹

3 Demonstration and the “Voice of the Lord” in *Stromateis* VII 16

Clement writes that knowledge presupposes faith and that if faith is based on revelation from God “this faith becomes certain demonstration (ἀπόδειξις βεβαία); since truth follows what has been delivered by God.”³² But faith itself cannot be the product of demonstration, since that would require a more fundamental faith. It does not make sense to use demonstrative arguments to attain faith. Hence, in *Stromateis* I we hear that the Word is not to be given to those who are “reared in the arts of all kinds of words, and in the power of inflated attempts at proof.”³³

In the important *Stromateis* VII 16, Clement explains that we must “obtain demonstration (τὴν ἀπόδειξιν) from the Scriptures themselves (ἀπ’ αὐτῶν

²⁸ *Strom.* V 10, 65, 2.

²⁹ Plato, *Parm.* 137c–166c.

³⁰ Arkadi Choufrine, *Gnosis, Theophany, Theosis: Studies in Clement of Alexandria's Appropriation of His Background* (Patristic Studies 5; New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2002), 167.

³¹ *Strom.* II 6, 28, 1.

³² *Strom.* VI 8, 70, 3.

³³ *Strom.* I 1, 8, 1.

λάβωσι τῶν γραφῶν)”³⁴ by “establishing each one of the points demonstrated in the Scriptures again from similar Scriptures.”³⁵ But in *Stromateis* II 11, 49, Clement distinguishes between two kinds of demonstration, conjectural demonstration and a higher, scientific demonstration:

Conjectural demonstration (δοξαστική ἀπόδειξις) is a human matter (ἀνθρωπική); it is the product of rhetorical argument or even dialectical syllogisms. The higher demonstration (ἀνωτάτω ἀπόδειξις), which we have alluded to as scientific (ἐπιστημονική), instils faith by presenting the Scriptures and opening them up to the souls who are eager to learn, and this could hardly be other than knowledge (γνώσις).³⁶

Clement’s views on demonstration is rather similar to the Aristotelian perspective, where first principles cannot be demonstrated.³⁷ All demonstration is traced up to indemonstrable faith, says Clement.³⁸ That which is self-evident is believed without demonstration.³⁹ When Clement uses the term demonstration (ἀποδείξις) in the context of *Stromateis* VII 16, he, says Giulea, “most likely refers to the divine manifestations, the content of knowledge that God shows forth, exhibits, and makes known directly to the human intellect (νοῦς).”⁴⁰ Without this higher demonstration based on faith in God, demonstration based on the Scripture is nothing but a human or conjectural demonstration (δοξαστική ἀπόδειξις) based on mere opinion. But when based on faith in God, higher demonstration takes place by Scripture, through which God speaks. This we learn from a passage in *Stromateis* II 2:

If a person, having faith in the divine Scriptures, has firm judgment, then he receives as an irrefutable demonstration (ἀπόδειξις ἀναντίρρητος) the voice of the God who has granted him those Scriptures.⁴¹

34 *Strom.* VII 16, 93, 1.

35 *Strom.* VII 16, 96, 4.

36 *Strom.* II 11, 49, 2–3.

37 Aristotle, *An. post.* 100b9–13.

38 *Strom.* VIII 3, 7, 2–3.

39 *Strom.* VIII 3, 8, 6.

40 Dragoş A. Giulea, “Apprehending ‘Demonstrations’ from the First Principle: Clement of Alexandria’s Phenomenology of Faith,” *JR* 89/2 (2009) 187–213, here 199.

41 *Strom.* II 2, 9, 6.

Clement's point seems to be that Scripture is delivered by "the voice of God," but that this "voice of God" can only be received if the reader has faith and thereby firm judgement.

Clement argues that heretics base their doctrines on mere opinion, "but we establish the matter that is in question by the voice of the Lord (κυρίου φωνῇ), which is the surest of all demonstrations, or rather is the only demonstration."⁴² As we grasp the indemonstrable first principle through faith and the significance of the first principle itself, Clement argues that we are "by the voice of the Lord trained to the knowledge of the truth."⁴³ In this way faith in the "Scripture and voice of the Lord" becomes the "criterion in the discovery of things."⁴⁴

He, then, who of himself has faith in the Scripture and voice of the Lord, which by the Lord acts to the benefiting of men, is rightly faithful. Certainly we make use of it as a criterion in the discovery of things.⁴⁵

Though the voice of the Lord and Scripture may seem to be considered an *hen-diadys* by Clement, and thus as one and the same thing, there are good reasons for distinguishing between the two. It is only by faith that the voice of the Lord and Scripture become one.

In other parts of the *Stromateis*, the voice of the Lord is heard separately of Scripture. For example, in *Stromateis* VI 6 we hear that the Gentiles hear the voice of the Lord, as Christ preached in Hades.⁴⁶ Moreover, Clement often expresses a Platonic mistrust of writing, when he states that "secret things are entrusted to speech (λόγῳ πιστεύεται), not to writing."⁴⁷ For Clement, the mysteries are delivered mystically, but that which is spoken belongs to the understanding of the speaker rather than to his voice:

Anyone who does not have the eyes of the soul darkened in the face of the light which is his own by false nurture and teaching, should walk

⁴² *Strom.* VII 16, 95, 8.

⁴³ *Strom.* VII 16, 95, 6.

⁴⁴ *Strom.* VII 16, 95, 5.

⁴⁵ *Strom.* VII 16, 95, 4.

⁴⁶ *Strom.* VI 6, 45, 1–2.

⁴⁷ *Strom.* I 1, 13, 2–3; Plato, *Phaedr.* 257c–279c.

towards the truth which shows through Scripture things which cannot be written in Scripture (ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὴν ἐγγράφως τὰ ἄγραφα δηλοῦσαν).⁴⁸

Scripture cannot be discerned unless one has received “from the truth itself the rule of the truth.”⁴⁹ Hence, for Clement and Giulea, “God’s voice is double faceted, at the same time spirit and letter.”⁵⁰ The need for this distinction follows from Clement’s negative theology and his consequent symbolic view on language.

4 Concealment and Symbolic Language

Clement contends that it is impossible to predicate anything about God’s essence. However, names used to describe God’s essence and his work still refer to God, albeit indirectly, and when these names are incorporated into a “systematic” theology or philosophy they become a parable of God’s mysteries: “each one by itself does not express God; but all together are indicative of the power of the Omnipotent.”⁵¹ It is not completely true, however, to say that Clement deemed all names for God to be incorrect, as Osborn did, for example.⁵² Rather, the “correctness” of these names consists in their ability to refer to God by coming together to form a parable or analogy of the divine mysteries, not in their ability to form propositions that adequately represent their object. Clement’s negative theology means that truth must be concealed in symbolic language. As soon as truth is expressed discursively in words, it results in numerous enigmas and parables. Symbolic language is necessary, since “truth has been hidden (ἐπιτεκρύφθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν) from us.”⁵³ Neither the Prophets nor Christ intended for the mysteries to be apprehended by all; rather, they both veiled them in parables.⁵⁴ The Father is inaccessible, but is revealed through the Son (the Logos), who possesses a name and who is

48 *Strom.* I 1, 10, 1. Trans. John Ferguson. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis. Books One to Three* (The Fathers of the Church 85; Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1991).

49 *Strom.* VII 16, 94, 5–6.

50 Giulea, “Apprehending,” 201.

51 *Strom.* V 12, 82, 1.

52 Eric F. Osborn, *The Philosophy of Clement of Alexandria* (Cambridge University Press, 1957), 39.

53 *Strom.* II 2, 6, 4.

54 *Strom.* VI 15, 124, 3–6.

accessible via language (there is a parallel to be drawn with Middle- and Neo-Platonism here too).⁵⁵

In the incarnation, the Son reveals the "Father's character to the five senses by clothing Himself with flesh."⁵⁶ But while Jesus Christ is on the one hand the revelation of the Father to "the five senses," he is also hidden in the self-same means by which he is revealed, just as the Scriptures are parabolic in order to conceal the truth.⁵⁷ Without a spiritual, non-discursive inspiration from God, there can be no real wisdom or knowledge. True wisdom does not trust in mere words (λόγοις ψιλοῖς),⁵⁸ but devotes itself to divine commands, by which it "receives a divine power according to its inspiration from the Word."⁵⁹ It is because "Christ Himself is Wisdom" that the knowledge "imparted and revealed by the Son of God, is wisdom."⁶⁰ Our knowledge, according to Clement, is "the Saviour Himself",⁶¹ which seems to imply that our knowledge does not consist of propositions, at least not primarily. Hence, when Wisdom is conversely perfect and incomplete (ἐνδεής),⁶² as Clement mysteriously puts it, this could be understood as referring to two kinds of wisdom; Christ on the one hand and Scripture and Christ's parables on the other. In order to understand the divine mysteries we have to go beyond language.

For Clement, all Scripture expresses a strict monotheism and thereby the radical distinction between God and everything else. For example, Clement contextualises important parts of the Decalogue as an allegorical prohibition of idolatry.⁶³ But Scripture also signifies Jesus and the Word. According to Osborn, the only thing that is not understood allegorically is the crucifixion, death and resurrection of Christ.⁶⁴ The veil in the Jewish temple indicates the truly sacred Word in "accordance with the method of concealment."⁶⁵ Hence, symbolic interpretation (συμβολικὴ ἐρμηνεία) is useful, if not necessary, for theology in attaining piety, practising brevity, exhibiting wisdom and so on.⁶⁶ The same is true of Greek philosophy as well as of the non-Greek mysteries, in so

55 Mortley, *The Way of Negation*, 36.

56 *Strom.* v 6, 34, 1.

57 *Strom.* vi 15, 126, 3.

58 *Strom.* ii 20, 122, 1.

59 *Strom.* ii 20, 122, 1.

60 *Strom.* vi 7, 61, 1.

61 *Strom.* vi 1, 2, 4.

62 *Strom.* vi 7, 54, 3.

63 *Strom.* vi 16, 138, 1–4; 146–148.

64 Osborn, *Clement*, 77.

65 *Strom.* v 4, 19, 3.

66 *Strom.* v 8, 46, 1.

far as these contain elements of truth to be embraced, “especially what is concealed (τὸ ἐπικεκρυμμένον) in the barbarian philosophy.”⁶⁷ If philosophy speaks too directly about its object, it is unable to go beyond language. This is why the prophecies and oracles, whether Hebrew or Pagan, are spoken in enigmas and mysteries. All who have spoken of the “first principles of things” (whether Barbarian or Greek) have veiled the truth in “enigmas (αἰνίγμασι), and symbols (συμβόλοις), and allegories (ἀλληγορίαις), and metaphors (μεταφοραῖς), and such like tropes.”⁶⁸ It is an inherent property of language to simultaneously represent and conceal its object. This concealment both applies to the object of the writing and the intention of the writer, of which Heraclitus’ *On Nature* is an example, by presenting “the mind of the writer concealed.”⁶⁹ Speech conceals much, according to Clement.⁷⁰ But not only is concealment necessary, it also makes the truth appear more substantial: “All things that shine through a veil show the truth grander and more imposing.”⁷¹

It is precisely through the concealment of the mysteries that their representation becomes manifest. One such kind of concealment is analogy, which presents concealed causes “through the medium of signs (διὰ σημείων).”⁷² Signs are not predicates of the nature of objects, but rather they refer to difference, according to Clement. In the writings that are traditionally considered the eighth book of the *Stromateis*, Clement explains that “in definitions, difference is assumed, which, in the definitions occupies the place of sign.”⁷³ Signs of the properties of things are added by way of difference to definitions, not by showing the nature of things themselves, but by distinguishing properties from other properties. God, being One, does not admit difference or own property, since God would not then be simple, infinite and unknowable. God is different from anything known. This seems to be why analogies must present God by using signs that distinguish God from that which is not God and why dialectics and analysis are necessary for breaking down definitions.

67 *Strom.* II 1, 1, 2. By barbarian, Clement seems to invoke both Jewish as well as other non-Greek philosophies.

68 *Strom.* V 4, 21, 4.

69 *Strom.* V 8, 50, 2.

70 *Strom.* VI 15, 132, 1.

71 *Strom.* V 9, 56, 5.

72 *Strom.* VIII 9, 32, 6.

73 *Strom.* VIII 6, 21, 2.

5 Dialectics and the Notion of "Truth"

Clement does not distinguish between "the clear and the mysterious," since all language is subject to hermeneutics, a veil that undergoes "negative deconstruction," as Mortley puts it.⁷⁴ Dialectics is needed to lift the veil. Negative theology and the practice of dialectics serve to purify the soul from incorrect notions of God. Clement conceived of dialectics in a similar way to the Platonic tradition and Albinus in particular.⁷⁵ In dialectics, analysis is applied to identify the simplest objects of thought. Dialectics is the "opposing of one argument by another (λόγῳ λόγον ἀντικείμεναι)"⁷⁶ and serves as a "pruning-hook" that cuts the twigs from the vines.⁷⁷ By practising dialectics, the Gnostic learns to distinguish between the knowledge of God and timely matters, thereby learning how to abstract from the body and its pleasures. By practising dialectics, the advanced Christian gradually ascends to "the knowledge of entities as entities" and thus to the God of the universe.⁷⁸ Clement, in the fifth book of the *Stromateis*, famously writes:

Abstracting all that belongs to bodies and things called incorporeal, we cast ourselves into the greatness of Christ, and thence advance into immensity by holiness, we may reach somehow to the thought (νόησις) of the Almighty, knowing not what He is, but what He is not (οὐχ ὃ ἐστίν, ὃ δὲ μὴ ἐστὶ γνωρίσαντες).⁷⁹

By abstracting dimensions and properties a final point (or sign, σημείον), with no width or breadth, is reached in thought, beyond which lies "the greatness of Christ." This point must also be negated in order to come to a final thought of God. The thought (νόησις) produced from this is not a positive insight, but a negative definition by referring to God by what he is not. Surely, this is hardly a name for God.

Clement discerns three levels of language: Subject-matters (τὰ ὑποκείμενα πράγματα), thoughts (τὰ νοήματα) and names (τὰ ὀνόματα).⁸⁰ Subject-matters are the things that impress thoughts (νοήματα) upon us. Thoughts are the

74 Mortley, *The Way of Negation*, 40.

75 Albinus, *Epit.* 165, 1.14.

76 *Strom.* VI 8, 65, 1.

77 *Strom.* VI 8, 65, 5.

78 *Strom.* I 28, 177, 1.

79 *Strom.* V 11, 71, 3. A similar reasoning can be found in Albinus, *Epit.* 165, 1.14.

80 *Strom.* VIII 8, 23, 1.

likenesses of such subject-matters, corresponding to the nature or impression of things, which can be represented symbolically by names. Clement's negative theology means that the thought (νόησις) of God attained by dialectics consists in "knowing not what He is, but what He is not."⁸¹ Names, in other words, symbolise thoughts which by negative definitions refer to God even though they do not reveal God in any positive, direct sense. According to Clement they are, instead, points of support that help us not to err in other respects.⁸² True dialectics only comes about by revelation (κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν), when the Son reveals the Father as he withdraws (καταγαγόντος) into "the gloom of ignorance arising from evil training."⁸³ We are only capable of abstracting until a final point (σημείον) is reached. But for the final negation to take place, it seems that Christ must intervene. This is perhaps also why Clement argues that true philosophy is not something which the human mind discovers on its own, but something which it receives "from the truth itself."⁸⁴ The above seems to imply that we must distinguish between the human language of truth and what is revealed by truth itself. In the first book of the *Stromateis*, Clement explains that

One speaks in one way of the truth, in another way the truth interprets itself (ἄλλως ἢ ἀλήθεια ἑαυτὴν ἐρμηνεύει). The guessing at truth is one thing, and truth itself is another. Resemblance is one thing, the thing itself is another.⁸⁵

There is a difference between discourse concerning truth, on the one hand, and truth itself, on the other. For this reason Clement complains that "a considerable number of people occupy themselves with the truth, or rather with discourse concerning the truth (τὸν περὶ ἀληθείας λόγον)."⁸⁶ This does not mean that discourse concerning truth does not contribute to the attainment of truth, but it can only do this indirectly.

⁸¹ *Strom.* V 11, 71, 3.

⁸² *Strom.* V 12, 82, 1.

⁸³ *Strom.* I 28, 177, 3–178, 1.

⁸⁴ *Strom.* I 5, 32, 4.

⁸⁵ *Strom.* I 7, 38, 4.

⁸⁶ *Strom.* VI 17, 149, 3.

6 Schoolmasters to Christ: Causes of Knowledge

According to Clement, truth is one, but “many things contribute to its investigation (πολλὰ τὰ συλλαμβανόμενα πρὸς ζήτησιν αὐτῆς).”⁸⁷ These “many things” are co-operative causes only, it seems, while the only primary cause of discovery is the Son himself, or “by the Son (δι’ υἱοῦ),”⁸⁸ who reveals truth to those who seek it out. Co-operative causes are the means whereby truth is revealed, not least negatively as they help thought from going astray, as when dialectics prevents us from falling into heresy.⁸⁹ But co-operative causes are not a necessary part of truth, if a part at all, according to Clement. The Word is not rendered incomplete by the abstraction (κατὰ τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν) of such a cause.⁹⁰ This understanding of causes (or reasons) is reflected in Clement’s definition of philosophy as the search for truth, which “contributes to the comprehension of truth.” Philosophy is not the cause of comprehension (οὐκ αἰτία οὖσα καταλήψεως), or comprehension itself, but a cause associated with other things, a cooperator (συνεργός), or a joint cause (συναίτιον).⁹¹ Philosophy does not directly declare the Word, but it has a purificatory function.⁹²

The Greek philosophy, as it were, purges the soul, and prepares it beforehand for the reception of faith, on which the Truth builds up the edifice of knowledge.⁹³

Clement often seems to indicate that the Greeks held a positive, albeit fragmented insight into the mysteries of God, that their philosophy had “a dream of the truth.”⁹⁴ But it turns out that Greek philosophy had a primarily negative, indirect function. If the Greeks knew God, they knew Him “not by positive knowledge, but by indirect expression (κατὰ περίφρασιν).”⁹⁵ There is an obvious element of negative theology in this. For example, Clement praises Plato for being aware that God is more or less unknowable, while Antisthenes is quoted approvingly for saying that “God is not like to any (θεὸν οὐδενὶ ὅμοιον),” and

87 *Strom.* I 20, 97, 2.

88 *Strom.* I 20, 97, 3.

89 *Strom.* I 20, 100, 1.

90 *Strom.* I 20, 99, 3.

91 *Strom.* I 20, 97, 1.

92 Very similar to Plato, *Phaed.* 69b–69c.

93 *Strom.* VII 3, 20, 2.

94 *Protr.* 5, 64, 1.

95 *Strom.* VI 5, 39, 1.

Xenophon for saying that “what He is in form is not revealed (ὅποιος δὲ τὴν μορφήν, ἀφανής).”⁹⁶ But the comic writers are also praised, in their ridicule of Hellenic religion. Clement admonishes: “Let the strictures on your gods, which the poets, impelled by the force of truth, introduce in their comedies, shame you into salvation.”⁹⁷ When Clement proposes that there are “several ways of salvation,”⁹⁸ he does not imply that Christ is just one of many ways to God (epistemologically or soteriologically). If philosophy can do anything on its own, without revelation, it is because secular philosophy can work as preparatory training (προπαιδείαν) for the reception of truth.⁹⁹ The “several ways of salvation” are not positive and continuous ways to truth. Philosophy only purges the soul in preparation for the reception of faith.¹⁰⁰ Hence, there is no direct continuity between philosophy and the attainment of truth. Philosophy has a negative function, but only revelation through faith can give any real insight, as we understand the unknown God by divine grace (θεία χάριτι),¹⁰¹ when the power of the Word (ισχύς τοῦ λόγου) is given to us.¹⁰²

Clement claims that in this way the Greeks believed that philosophy had the same function as the Law and the Prophets had for Israel. Paul describes the Law as a schoolmaster (παιδαγωγός) to Christ (Gal 3:24); Clement maintains that philosophy worked as a schoolmaster (ἐπαιδαγωγέει) to bring the Hellenic mind to Christ, so that “before the advent of the Lord, philosophy was necessary to the Greeks for righteousness.”¹⁰³ But this is not because philosophy is a direct cause of righteousness. When the Law and Greek philosophy work as schoolmasters to Christ, they seem to be doing this through negation, by pointing out what God is not.¹⁰⁴ Hence, the Pauline dialectic between Law and the Gospel finds a parallel in the Socratic dialectic between ignorance and knowledge. Alluding to Alcibiades, Clement affirms the usefulness of the knowledge of ignorance, which “is the first lesson in walking according to the Word (τὸ πρῶτόν ἐστι μάθημα τῷ κατὰ λόγον βαδίζοντι).”¹⁰⁵ Clement famously argues that even if philosophy serves no purpose, one should at least practise philosophy in order to know why not to do so, since the confirmation

96 *Protr.* 6, 71, 3; *Strom.* V 14, 108, 5.

97 *Protr.* 7, 75, 1.

98 *Strom.* I 5, 29, 3.

99 *Strom.* I 5, 32, 4.

100 *Strom.* VII 3, 20, 2.

101 *Strom.* V 12, 82, 4.

102 *Strom.* V 12, 80, 9.

103 *Strom.* I 5, 28, 1.

104 E.g., *Strom.* V 11, 71, 3–5.

105 *Strom.* V 3, 17, 1.

(βεβαίωσις) of its uselessness could be of value itself.¹⁰⁶ Neither philosophy nor Scripture is, by itself, the truth. As philosophy is only a co-operative cause in the attainment of truth, this must also be the case with Scripture. The Scriptures “lay the foundation for the truth (θεμελιοῦσι τὴν ἀλήθειαν),” by teaching us about the fear of God in a very practical way and the “divine Scriptures and their wise requirements are roads to salvation (σωτηρίας ὁδοί).”¹⁰⁷ Scripture is a way to salvation by being a schoolmaster to Christ. But in this sense there are many undoubtedly negative ways to salvation.¹⁰⁸

7 The Status of Scripture

Clement says that Scripture is understandable to all “when taken according to the bare reading.”¹⁰⁹ But of course Scripture is not clear to all when it comes to things signified, i.e. God, since this is a matter of faith. For Clement, faith in Christ and knowledge of the Gospel are “the explanation and fulfilment of the law.” The good news is not about Christ, but Christ himself. Christ, “by becoming the Gospel” breaks “the mystic silence of the prophetic enigmas.”¹¹⁰ Only a person who believes can understand what is prophesied and concealed in the Law and the Prophets.¹¹¹ For those who do not already know the truth, the economy which prophesies the Lord appears as an indiscernible parable.¹¹² Hence, even if Clement is a scriptural theologian, Scripture is not the foundation of faith for him. Clement’s claim that faith cannot be based on demonstration and that the power of God is able to save “without demonstration, by mere faith,” must also apply to the status of Scripture.¹¹³ Proofs from Scripture are only proofs “to those who have believed.”¹¹⁴ Only through faith can the knowledge of God be attained. It is faith that makes it possible to read texts allegorically and to penetrate the symbols and enigmas that conceal the mysteries. When Clement says that “we become convinced by way of evidence, because as we put faith in them, we give proof from the Scriptures about the Scriptures,” it is not because

106 *Strom.* I 2, 19, 1.

107 *Protr.* 8, 77, 1.

108 *Strom.* I 5, 29, 3.

109 *Strom.* VI 15, 131, 3.

110 *Protr.* 1, 10, 1.

111 *Strom.* IV 21, 134, 3.

112 *Strom.* VI 15, 127, 1.

113 *Strom.* V 1, 9, 2.

114 *Strom.* VII 1, 1, 3.

Scripture proves itself, but because faith makes it possible to use Scripture in discerning it.¹¹⁵ The rule of truth, which can only be known as it is revealed from truth itself, is necessary in order to discern between true and false. In the seventh book of the *Stromateis*, Clement states that:

... those who make the greatest attempts must fail in things of the highest importance; unless, receiving from the truth itself the rule of the truth, they cleave to the truth. But such people, in consequence of falling away from the right path, err in most individual points; as you might expect from not having the faculty for judging of what is true and false, strictly trained to select what is essential. For if they had, they would have obeyed the Scriptures.¹¹⁶

By faith is obtained the rule of truth,¹¹⁷ which is not Scripture, but God himself. But as Mary gave birth to Christ, the Scripture gives birth to the truth.¹¹⁸ Yet, just as Mary is a virgin after giving birth, Scripture similarly represents truth cloaked in mystery. Truth is not in itself discursive, but it can be expressed in words by parables and analogies. For Clement, “the words of Scripture represent a vehicle of the divine manifestation that is given through the material mediation of the acoustically or visually perceived word.”¹¹⁹ The Prophets were the instruments of the divine voice.¹²⁰ We have seen that the final product of dialectics is a thought (νόησις), or perhaps thoughts, about God, which can be symbolised by names. The voice of the Lord produces the thoughts of the Prophets, rather than the names that the Prophets use to label their thoughts. Prophecy, says Clement, is not marked by the dialect it is pronounced in, exactly because it speaks indirectly.¹²¹ The expression of prophecy can vary because the prophecy does not consist in the exact words in which it is put. What is spoken is in the understanding of the speaker rather than in his voice.¹²² The voice of the Lord is, for Clement, the first principle by which all else must be tested and proved.

115 *Strom.* VII 16, 96, 1–3.

116 *Strom.* VII 16, 94, 5–6.

117 Not to be confused with “the rule of faith” in, e.g., Tertullian, *De Praes. haer.* 12.

118 *Strom.* VII 16, 94, 1.

119 Giulea, “Apprehending,” 201–2.

120 *Strom.* VI 18, 168, 3.

121 *Strom.* VI 15, 129, 1–2.

122 *Strom.* I 1, 13, 4–5.

As Osborn says,¹²³ this voice is, however, hardly something discursive to be simply identified with Scripture. Christian truth is not a set of doctrines beside the doctrines of Scripture and philosophy, but something which is beyond language at which these things indirectly point. As Hägg argues, Clement's idea of concealment should not be confused with esotericism, since there are no secret doctrines apart from those to be found in Scripture; however, this does not mean that truth can be identified with Scripture.¹²⁴

8 Conclusion

Saying that Scripture is in some way a vehicle of the voice of God is not identical to saying that Scripture "is the voice of God."¹²⁵ And if Scripture is a vehicle it is not in the sense of containing the voice of God, but of dialectically pointing to the voice of God. Clement's negative theology means that God can never be expressed in words, that he is always beyond whatever concept with which we may attempt to grasp him. The negative theology that follows from this means that mere words cannot adequately express the divine Word. What can make Scripture a criterion of truth is how it helps us hear the voice of the Lord. In encountering the Word, thoughts are produced that can be symbolised by names, that can then be written down. Even if the Scriptures are the inspired words of God (verbally or not), they are not the Word of God. Scripture is only a co-operative cause, one that reveals truth indirectly, in part, or as reflected in a mirror, to borrow a phrase from Paul (1 Cor 13:22). An even more precise metaphor for the relationship between Scripture and truth is that the Law and the Prophets are *but a shadow of the good things to come instead of the true form of these realities*, according to Heb 10:1. Clement affirms this metaphor.¹²⁶

When Clement claims that "God was known by the Greeks in a Gentile way, by the Jews Judaically, and in a new and spiritual way by us,"¹²⁷ both the Greek and the Judaic knowledge of God must then be considered indirect forms of knowledge. What is known spiritually (πνευματικῶς γνωσκόμενον) is the truth, Christ himself, which is concealed in the parables and allegories of Scripture.

123 Osborn, "Reason and the Rule of Faith," 53.

124 Hägg, *Clement of Alexandria and the Beginnings of Christian Apophaticism*, 151.

125 Benno A. Zuiddam, "Early Orthodoxy: the Scriptures in Clement of Alexandria," *Acta Patristica et Byzantina* 21/2 (2010) 257–68, here 263.

126 *Strom.* VI 7, 58, 3.

127 *Strom.* VI 5, 41, 7.

Both philosophy and Scripture are schoolmasters to Christ. There is, so to speak, a dialogical relationship between Scripture and the voice of God. The parables of Scripture point indirectly at God, who must Himself speak in order for truth to be revealed. This again makes further engagement with Scripture possible. Clement hardly believed in what was later to be called “verbal inspiration.” The “voice of the Lord” does not make itself heard in the form of spoken words. But even if he did there is no direct revelation of truth in Scripture.

Schesis and Trinitarian Thought in Clement of Alexandria: From Philosophy to Scriptural Interpretation

Ilaria Vigorelli

1 Introduction: The Theological Significance of the Different Uses of σχέσις in Early Christianity

The style and language of Clement is rich and varied, and his linguistic constructions and expressions may not always be taken as examples of a technical theological vocabulary.¹ His use of the term σχέσις in particular forms an impasse of sorts.

In Greek, the use of σχέσις implies the existence of a “state” or “disposition”, and recourse is made to the term when discussing the configuration of one being “in relation to another.” The prepositions πρὸς and περί are often found within the semantic neighborhood of σχέσις, preceding the second term in relation to the first.² In analysing occurrences of σχέσις in the work of an author, one explores how these uses might touch upon a category that pertains to the ontology of beings. The beings or entities in question may be eternal and multiple or mutable and material, and may be of fixed or variable configuration; yet they always presuppose some other term with respect to what each is, or might be, in a state of relation. This second term can be implicit or explicit. It may lie outside the being under consideration (as happens when dealing with plural entities), or may be immanent within the being itself (if the being’s predication involves a state of the being that changes with respect to itself, for example its space and time). If the second term is not introduced by πρὸς or περί, the σχέσις of the being is necessarily defined using the genitive or an attribute of σχέσις itself.³ The attention paid to the σχέσις of a being takes on significance from both the philosophical and theological perspective, but only within the context in which it appears, as well as that of the beings and

1 Cf. Henri-Irénée Marrou, in Clément d’Alexandrie, *Le Pédagogue, livre I* (SC 70; Paris: Cerf, 1960), 102–5.

2 Cf. Charles Mugler, “ΕΞΙΣ, ΣΧΕΣΙΣ et ΣΧΗΜΑ chez Platon,” *REG* 71 (1957) 72–92; G.W.H. Lampe, *A Greek Patristic Lexicon* (Oxford: OUP, 1978), 1357–8.

3 For more on the development of the use of the term σχέσις in the history of Greek thought, see Giulio Maspero, *Essere e relazione* (Roma: Città Nuova, 2013), 101–65.

attributions determined by recourse to this verbal designation. In this sense, the impasse resulting from Clement's style appears to be less dangerous, for it is easily broken down by the contextual references in which σχέσις is found.

Clement makes use of σχέσις a total of fifteen times in his works: only once in the *Protrepticus*;⁴ five times in the *Paedagogus*;⁵ and nine times in the *Stromata*.⁶ Its occurrence in his work is nevertheless limited when compared to the frequency with which his contemporary, Alexander of Aphrodisias, uses the term.⁷

Clement's uses may be divided into two groups: those intended to specify relationships between beings (in the creaturely sphere), similar in meaning to the philosophical use found in the commentaries on Aristotle's *Categories*, and those which refer to the *Logos* and to God. The latter are all found in commentaries on biblical passages.

Analysis of the term's occurrences allow us to verify if and in what way Clement's biblical exegesis introduces an innovation of sorts in the use of the philosophical category of relation and the manner in which it is evaluated with respect to God. This is particularly interesting for the history of dogma, if one considers the line of thought that unites Clement to Origen and to the Cappadocian Fathers.⁸ Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa, in fact, follow on the work undertaken by Basil and imbue the formulation πρὸς ἄλληλα σχέσις with an ontological value that renders explicit the immanence of the relational distinction between the Father and Son as a single divine essence, and do so definitively.⁹ An analysis of the occurrences of σχέσις, then, permits one to investigate whether and to what extent the theological thinking of the Cappadocians takes into account the biblical exegesis and ontology of Clement.

4 *Protr.* 2, 30, 7.

5 *Paed.* I 8, 71, 3; 9, 88, 2; 10, 89, 2; II 10, 110, 1; III 11, 74, 1.

6 *Strom.* I 1, 9, 1; 24, 164, 1; II 16, 73, 4; 74, 2; 22, 133, 7; IV 22, 139, 5 bis; V 12, 82, 2; VI 10, 80, 2. One more occurrence can be counted in *Strom.* VIII 9, 29, 2.

7 In Alexander's works, σχέσις occurs more than 160 times. Cf. Giulio Maspero, "Ontologia e dogma: il ruolo della σχέσις nella dottrina trinitaria greca," in *AT* 27 (2013) 293–342, here 299.

8 It seems that Clement passed the last years of his life in Cappadocia with his friend Alexander, who was later the Bishop of Jerusalem, and who died there around the year 215. Cf. Michael Mees, "Clemente di Alessandria" in Angelo Di Berardino (ed.), *Nuovo dizionario patristico di antichità cristiane* (Genova: Marietti, 2006), coll. 1066–73.

9 Cf. Maspero, *Essere e relazione*, 147–65.

2 The Different Uses of σχέσις in the *Corpus Clementinum*: Categorical Predication

In the sole appearance of the term in the *Protrepticus*, a common use of σχέσις may be discerned, one which refers to a physical aspect of Heracles. In addition to directing a polemic against the worship of the pagan mysteries, Clement supports as a certainty the claim that Heracles is a part of the human ontological order,¹⁰ employing a literal citation from Jerome regarding the σχέσις of Heracles's body (τὴν σχέσιν αὐτοῦ ὑφηγείται τοῦ σώματος), described by the philosopher as small, curly-haired, and vigorous.¹¹ Clement concludes from this that to be mortal and possess physical features means one cannot be a god.

In the *Paedagogus*, Clement twice makes reference to the σχέσις of humankind in his description of virtue and vice, and indicates with the sequence κίνησις—σχέσις the movements and attitudes that denote a propensity for either pleasure¹² or cowardice.¹³ There are nine occurrences of σχέσις in the *Stromata*, more than half of which reference the category of being as in relation. Σχέσις is utilized in speaking about the external shape of something¹⁴ or the attitude and disposition of humankind.¹⁵ In the latter case, Clement references the relationship between an external attitude and interior dispositions, recognizable to the gaze of an observer of humankind. With the reference to the σχέσις there is an emphasis on humanity's visible attitudes, which are then interpreted as reflections of the virtue of the soul. Thus the sequence κίνησις—σχέσις appears once more:

The person who addresses the people present uses time as a test and judgment to come to a verdict. He distinguishes those capable of hearing from the rest. He keeps an eye on their words and ways, their character and lives, their movements and positions (τάς σχέσεις), their appearance and voices, the parting of the ways, the rock, the well-trodden path, the

10 Clement claims, as does Homer, that Heracles is a human creature and thus mortal.

11 *Protr.* 2, 30, 7.

12 *Paed.* II 10, 110, 1. This is a passage wherein the virtuous woman is described by contrasting her with the woman who has fallen to vice, following the outline offered by the Sophists.

13 *Paed.* III 11, 74, 1.

14 To be precise, the figures represented by the statue (τάς τῶν ἀγαλμάτων σχέσεις) *Strom* I 24, 164, 1.

15 *Strom.* I 1, 9, 1.

ground that bears fruit, the countryside thick with trees, the fertile land, excellent, praised, the soil capable of multiplying the seed.¹⁶

A bit later on in the second book, when he speaks of the highest good, Clement once again has recourse to *σχέσις* in the broader field of reference to the doctrine of virtue, and especially to the philosophy of Speusippus and Xenocrates of Chalcedon. In this context, *σχέσις* emerges within a sequence that describes in what way one might come to comprehend the correspondence between humankind's interior and exterior, between the soul and that which emanates through it:

Xenocrates of Chalcedon defines happiness as the acquisition of the appropriate virtue and the power needed to serve it. Then, as if he wanted to say where it resides, he clearly indicates the soul. For the originating causes, he points to the virtues; for its component parts he points to noble actions, and states, dispositions, motions and attitudes (*καὶ σχέσεις*) of high morality; for its necessary concomitants he points to physical and external circumstances.¹⁷

That the terms proceed in the order of *ἕξεις τε καὶ διαθέσεις καὶ κινήσεις καὶ σχέσεις* immediately places the semantic range of *σχέσις* within the context of the shifting conditions of our humanity, which nonetheless have a direct connection to the soul. Clement's eclectic philosophical sources are then expanded upon so as to better understand in what way he defines such a

16 'Ο μὲν οὖν πρὸς παρόντας λέγων καὶ χρόνῳ δοκιμάζει καὶ κρίσει δικάζει καὶ διακρίνει τῶν ἄλλων τὸν οἶον τε ἀκοῦειν, ἐπιτηρῶν τοὺς λόγους, τοὺς τρόπους, τὰ ἤθη, τὸν βίον, τὰς κινήσεις, τὰς σχέσεις, τὸ βλέμμα, τὸ φθέγμα, τὴν τρίοδον, τὴν πέτραν, τὴν πατουμένην ὁδόν, τὴν καρποφόρον γῆν, τὴν ὑλομανοῦσαν χώραν. *Strom* I 1, 9, 1. For the English translation see: John Ferguson, *Clement of Alexandria, Stromateis. Books One to Three, Clement of Alexandria: Stromateis, Books One to Three* (The Fathers of the Church 85; Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1991), 28. Variations are mine. In addition to the reference made to Matt 13:3–8 and parallel passages, one can in this sequence compare the reference to Plato, in the example of the act of sowing and philosophical education and the effectiveness of oral discourse. Cf. *Phaedr.* 276b–277a.

17 Ξενοκράτης τε ὁ Καλχηδόνιος τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἀποδίδωσι κτήσιν τῆς οἰκείας ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς ὑπηρετικῆς αὐτῇ δυνάμεως. εἶτα ὡς μὲν ἐν ᾧ γίνεται, φαίνεται λέγων τὴν ψυχὴν· ὡς δ' ὑφ' ὧν, τὰς ἀρετάς· ὡς δ' ἐξ ὧν ὡς μερῶν, τὰς καλὰς πράξεις καὶ τὰς σπουδαίας ἕξεις τε καὶ διαθέσεις καὶ κινήσεις καὶ σχέσεις· ὡς δ' ὧν οὐκ ἄνευ, τὰ σωματικά καὶ τὰ ἐκτός. *Strom* II 22, 133, 5–7. Trans. Ferguson, *Clement of Alexandria: Stromateis*, 246–7.

connection.¹⁸ A short time earlier, referencing the Platonism of Speusippus, he calls to mind the idea of happiness as being “in possession of goods,” a stable habit, employing the expression *ἐξ ἡ ἀγαθῶν*.¹⁹

Once again, in the fourth chapter of the *Stromata*, Clement’s anthropological interest avails itself of the use of *σχέσις* two consecutive times to indicate the stability of the state of the soul that has obtained affinity (*ἐξομοίωσις*) with God. A counterpoint appears in the form of the synonym-antonym term *διάθεσις* in speaking of the mutable state caused by an attraction to material things.

For assimilating to God, to the extent we can, is about preserving the mind in its relation (*σχέσει*) to the same things. And this is the relation (*σχέσις*) of mind as mind. But the variation in disposition (*διάθεσις*) arises from a passionate affection for material things.²⁰

If, as previously seen,²¹ by *gnosis* Clement means a habit (*ἔξις*) or the actual disposition of a certain tendency (*διάθεσις*),²² the *σχέσις* of the spirit remains distinct²³ inasmuch as it speaks of a state that is rendered stable and constant according to the affinity (*ἐξομοίωσις*) achieved with God.²⁴

There is an occurrence in the sixth chapter of the *Stromata* that deserves special attention in which Clement enumerates the knowledge that the “true Gnostic” is able to derive from any discipline as a means of arriving at the truth. Here he uses the term *σχέσις* in parallel with the *logos* of proportions (*ἀναλογία*) to speak of reciprocal numerical relationships that can be represented by arithmetic, and furthermore to distinguish arithmetic from geometry—the

18 The eclectic nature of Clement’s philosophical sources and the loss of his treatise on the soul seem to prohibit adequate in-depth development that would help explain how he himself understood such a bond. It has been proposed that his *Περὶ ψυχῆς* was comparable to Aristotle’s *De Anima*, which Clement must certainly have known. Cf. Piotr Ashwin-Siejkowski, *Clement of Alexandria on Trial. The Evidence of ‘Heresy’ from Photius’ Bibliotheca* (VChr Suppl. 101; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 123.

19 *Strom.* II 22, 133, 4.

20 Αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ κατὰ δύναμιν ἐξομοίωσις πρὸς θεὸν τὸ φυλάττειν τὸν νοῦν ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ σχέσει· αὐτὴ δὲ τοῦ σχέσις ὡς νοῦ, ἡ δὲ ποικίλη διάθεσις γίνεται τῇ πρὸς τὰ ὕλικά προσπαθεία. *Strom.* IV 22, 139, 4–5.

21 *Strom.* IV 22, 139, 2.

22 On the distinction between *ἔξις* and *διάθεσις* the reference is to Aristotle, *Cat.* VIII 8b27.

23 He also designates the *state* as *ἔξις* e *διάθεσις*, when it finds itself in opposition to *κίνησις*. Cf. *Paed.* II 10, 110, 1; III 11, 74, 1; *Strom.* I 1, 9, 1.

24 On the *ἐξομοίωσις* of the soul with God see also, *Strom* IV 14, 95; 23, 147, 1; 148, 1.

latter being something that instead considers entities individual phenomena in a continuous space, thus extricating them from their respective relations.

Prosecuting, then, the proportion of harmonies in music; and in arithmetic noting the increase and decrease of numbers, and their relations with one another (τάς πρὸς ἀλλήλους σχέσεις), and how most things fall within some proportion of numbers; studying geometry, which is abstract essence, he perceives a continuous distance, and an immutable essence which is different from these bodies.²⁵

Clement is interested in crystallizing how in all disciplines he who loves the truth can locate the tools and methods that will help him find it.²⁶ Here is it useful to underline that the disposition of numbers in reciprocal relation might be expressed through the formula τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους σχέσεις, where it is precisely the reciprocal relation that establishes the *logos* of proportion.

It may thus be concluded from this analysis of the occurrences of σχέσις at the non-exegetical level that Clement utilizes the term above all to describe the anthropological condition of the soul, and furthermore that he perhaps conceives of it in continuity with the cultural environment in which he finds himself: the Christian παιδεία presented by Clement indeed reveals its continuity with the Greek παιδεία even in instances of σχέσις, where the human being, configured to the divine, enters into a stable disposition of spirit and is thereby distinguished from malleability due to material passions.²⁷ Yet at the same time, Clement is attentive to the value of the body: if the dispositions of the body reveal the presence of virtue and vice, Clement's emphasis is on the correspondence between the human being's interior and exterior, between the appearance of behaviour and the actual state of the soul. In so doing, Clement assumes an anthropological position, one that tends to overthrow Platonism at the same time it stands in contrast to the Gnostic perspective.²⁸

25 Τῆς μὲν οὖν μουσικῆς τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἡρμωσμένοις ἀναλογίαν διώκων, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριθμητικῇ τὰς αὐξήσεις καὶ μειώσεις τῶν ἀριθμῶν παρασημειούμενος καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους σχέσεις καὶ ὡς τὰ πλείστα ἀναλογίᾳ τινὶ ἀριθμῶν ὑποπέπτωκεν, <ἐν δὲ> τῇ γεωμετρικῇ οὐσίαν αὐτὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς θεωρῶν καὶ ἐθιζόμενος συνεχές τι διάστημα νοεῖ<ν> καὶ οὐσίαν ἀμετάβλητον, ἑτέραν τῶνδε τῶν σωμάτων οὖσαν. *Strom* VI 10, 80, 2–3.

26 *Strom* VI 10, 82, 1–5.

27 On this point see Juan J. Sanguinetti, *La antropología educativa de Clemente Alejandrino* (Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, 2003), 48–52.

28 On the eclectic syncretism of the various Platonic, Stoic and Aristotelian elements in Clement's ethics, see Salvatore R.C. Lilla, *Clement of Alexandria: A Study in Christian Platonism and Gnosticism* (Oxford: OUP, 1971), 60 ff. On Clement's method see Laura Rizziero, *L'Étique de Clément et les philosophies grecques*, *SP* 41 (2006) 231–46, here 232.

Even the reference to reciprocal relations is not new—it is merely touched upon with respect to mathematical relationships, and hence σχέσις is interpreted as an instance of *logos*.²⁹

3 The Ontological Significance of the Attributes of σχέσις in God: Biblical Context

In more theological contexts, the use of σχέσις in Clement seems markedly different, and this usage mostly draws its consistency from an exegesis of biblical passages.³⁰

The occurrences present in such an exegetical context are found in the *Paedagogus* and the *Stromata*. In the *Paedagogus*, there are three: in the first book, chapters eight, nine and ten. These appear at the heart of the argument intended to demonstrate God's essential goodness: that He is good even when he punishes. This is where Clement firmly grounds his grave accusation against Marcion's Gnosticism, as Clement means to provide a unitary interpretation of the Revelation of God.³¹

In witness to the goodness and justice of God, Clement explains how the mark of justice in God is the same as that of mercy, for He Who is the one and only God (ὁ αὐτὸς μόνος ὢν θεός)³² is the very same One Who is just and Who judges, and is the very same witness to the Gospels.³³

The reference to the σχέσις of the *Logos* appears whenever Clement comments on the passage in John (17:24–26)³⁴ in which Jesus, in His prayer to the Father, notes the love of the Father for the Son before the creation of the world

29 It seems that the integration of the biblical notion of creation as a free and continuous act of God—interpreted by Clement as *philanthropia* (*Paed.* I 6, 30, 2; III 3, 24, 1; I 8, 64, 3; I 1, 3, 3)—and Hellenistic metaphysical models that interpreted the relations of the stars and the cosmos according to the logic of the fixed relationships of the demiurgic *logos*, has not yet matured into a unitary concept of the freely given nature of creation. Cf. Lilla, *Clement*, 192.

30 On this point see Sanguineti, *La antropología educativa*, 48–52.

31 Cf. Abele Boatti, in Clemente Alessandrino, *Pedagogo* (CPS, ser. graeca 2; Torino: SEI, 1937), XIV; Marrou, in Clément d'Alexandrie, *Le Pédagogue, livre I*, 33; Fulbert Cayré, *Précis de patrologie et d'histoire de la théologie*, vol. 1 (Paris: Société de St. Jean l'évangéliste, 1931), 173.

32 *Paed.* I 8, 71, 2.

33 *Paed.* I 8, 71, 2.

34 *Father, they are your gift to me. I wish that where I am they also may be with me, that they may see the glory that you gave me, because you loved me before the foundation of the world. Righteous Father, the world also does not know you, but I know you, and they know that you*

(ὅτι ἡγάπησάς με πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου).³⁵ Here, God is good because in Him, there is a reciprocal relation of love between the Father and the Son, and if justice comes from this same relation of love—of the Father for the Son and the Son for the Father—and the Son is the *Logos*, then the ontological premise for any manifestation of justice as mercy may be seen to reside in this relation.

He who makes some stand on His right and others on His left, if He is considered as the Father, who is good, is called that very thing which He alone is—good; but if He is thought of as being the Son, His Word, who is in the Father, then He is given the title, just, because of their relationship of love (ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλα σχέσεως ἀγάπης), one for the other, since justice is the term to describe equality of degree.³⁶

Let us look at an important passage that is worth expanding upon, for here Clement grounds the theological claim of the essential goodness of the one God, creator and redeemer. He thus advances the continuity of revelation between the Old and New Testaments, and the disposition of reciprocal love between the Father and the Son, the latter being the *Logos* of the Father.³⁷

As there can be no opposing contrasts between God and his *Logos*—for the *Logos* is in God and the *Logos* is God,³⁸ and since the relation between the Father and the Son is one of love—so, too, there can be no contrast between justice and mercy, just as there is none between the *Logos* who punishes and the *Logos* who exhorts and instructs.

By way of this reference to the disposition of love of the *Logos* in God, which is his relation to the Father, Clement can confront the logic of opposites

sent me. I made known to them your name and I will make it known that the love with which you loved me may be in them and I in them.

35 *Paed.* 1 8, 71, 2.

36 Ὁ γὰρ ἰστάς τοὺς μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἐξ εὐωνύμων, καθὼ μὲν πατὴρ νοεῖται, ἀγαθὸς ὢν, αὐτὸ μόνον ὃ ἐστὶ κέκληται ἀγαθός, καθὼ δὲ, υἱὸς ὢν, ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ ἐστὶ, δίκαιος προσαγορεύεται ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλα σχέσεως ἀγάπης, ἰσότητι μεμετρημένον ὄνομα δυνάμεως. *Paed.* 1 8, 71, 3. English translation: Simon P. Wood, *Clement of Alexandria: Christ the Educator* (The Fathers of the Church 23; Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1954), 64.

37 The interpretation presented here is in full agreement with Edwards, who in his study of the doctrine of the *Logos* in Clement of Alexandria has shown that in Clement we encounter one of the earliest distinctions between economy and immanence, placing the ever-eternal generation of the *Logos* in the immanence of the divine nature. Cf. Mark J. Edwards, "Clement of Alexandria and His Doctrine of the Logos," *VChr* 54 (2000) 159–77, here 174.

38 John 1:1 in *Paed.* 1 8, 62, 4.

applied by philosophical matrices to dualistic Gnostic theology, and replace it with the reciprocal relation between the Father and the Son that reverberates throughout all creation and in the pedagogical work of the *Logos*.

Therefore, God is good of himself, but just for our sake and because He is good. His justice is revealed to us as through His Word who has descended from above (ἄνωθεν)³⁹ where the Father has always been. Before becoming the Creator, He was God, and good; that is why He wished to become Creator and Father. And His disposition of love (ἡ τῆς ἀγάπης ἐκείνης σχέσις) is the origin of His justice, making His sun to shine and sending down His own Son.⁴⁰

The appearance of the coupled expression σχέσις—ἀγάπη shows in an even more obvious way how for Clement, the disposition of love in God toward his creatures is the same as that of the Father for the *Logos*. It is a disposition that in God is essential goodness and transfers in the same way to humankind in the form of justice and love.

We find ourselves at the origins of the theology of the *Logos* and the difference between economy and immanence, as well as between created and uncreated nature that is not yet treated in a unequivocal manner—another two centuries of Arian polemic will pass before this point is better elaborated—but one cannot help but observe in Clement's style and terminology the tenets of the matrix later found in the Cappodician formulation.

Following the line of occurrences of σχέσις in the *Paedagogus*, one realizes that it is on account of the semantic oscillations between the *Logos* understood as the Son of the Father, the *Logos* as speech or as the Revelation of Scripture, that the *Logos*-Son has always been traced back to affiliation with the Father, He Who is loved by the Father, Who is with the Father, Who is God, and Who

39 The adverb ἄνωθεν appears in the Gospel of John some four times to denote an origin in the Father: John 3:3: Ἐάν μή τις γεννηθῇ ἄνωθεν, οὐ δύναται ἰδεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. *If one is not born from above one cannot see the Kingdom of God.* John 3:7: Δεῖ ὑμᾶς γεννηθῆναι ἄνωθεν. *One must be born from above.* John 3:31: Ὁ ἄνωθεν ἐρχόμενος ἐπάνω πάντων ἐστίν. *The one who comes from above is above all.* John 19:11: Οὐκ εἶχες ἐξουσίαν κατ' ἐμοῦ οὐδεμίαν εἰ μὴ ἦν δεδομένον σοι ἄνωθεν. *You would have no power over me, if it had not been given to you from above.*

40 "Ὡστε ἀγαθὸς μὲν ὁ θεὸς δι' ἑαυτόν, δίκαιος δὲ ἡδὴ δι' ἡμᾶς, καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι ἀγαθός. Τὸ δίκαιον δὲ ἡμῖν διὰ τοῦ λόγου ἐνδείκνυται τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἐκεῖθεν ἄνωθεν, ὅθεν γέγονεν πατὴρ. Πρὶν γὰρ κτίσθην γενέσθαι θεὸς ἦν, ἀγαθὸς ἦν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ δημιουργὸς εἶναι καὶ πατὴρ ἠθέλησεν· καὶ ἡ τῆς ἀγάπης ἐκείνης σχέσις δικαιοσύνης γέγονεν ἀρχή, καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἐπιλάμποντος τὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν καταπέμποντος τὸν αὐτοῦ. *Paed* 1 9, 88, 2–8. Trans. Wood, *Clement of Alexandria: Christ the Educator*, 78. Variations are mine.

is the same *Logos*-creator who harbours an immense love for humankind (τὸ μέγιστον αὐτοῦ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας;⁴¹ ὑπερβολὴ φιλανθρωπίας⁴²), so much so that He made Himself man (ὅτι δι' ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωπος ἐγένετο).⁴³ Thus, the Father is the Father of the *Logos* with Whom He is in a relation of paternal-filial love, and He is also the Father of creation, in virtue of the *Logos* through Whom He is creator.⁴⁴

We can hereby reveal—without betraying Clement's style of argumentation—a broad theological conception of the σχέσις of the *Logos*, which is stable in reference to the Father (the disposition of reciprocal love) and mutable in the modes of love for humankind (φιλανθρωπία that manifests itself in Scripture as correction, exhortation, etc.) but is not mutable as a disposition of love. In this manner, there is no contrast between the revelation of God as Himself in the facts and narratives gathered and handed down to us as the Old Testament, versus all which the *Logos* of God has revealed through his incarnation, handed down to us in the New Testament.

A legitimate conclusion could be that the knowledge of the σχέσις of the Father and the Son—that is, the relation of reciprocal love in God, which Clement characterizes as a relation between the Father and the Son-*Logos*, beginning with the biblical texts, due to a noteworthy speculative contribution likely part of an effort to highlight disparities and errors in the Valentinians⁴⁵—becomes the matrix of a new ontology that is *theo*-logy. In this, Clement stands in marked contrast to the Gnostic dualism of his day. One might even go so far as to say that Clement's exegesis of John 1:1 and John 17:24–26 shows that biblical ontology on its own has the power to overcome the formidable limit, or set matrix, of all Greek philosophical systems: the battle of opposites.⁴⁶

The *Stromata* contains two final locations at which σχέσις possesses a theological value within the context of the biblical literature. Here Clement means

41 *Paed.* 1 8, 62, 1.

42 *Paed.* 1 8, 62, 3.

43 *Paed.* 1 8, 62, 2.

44 It is worth noting that, as far as we know, Clement never uses the Platonic expression “father of the *logos*” (πατὴρ τοῦ λόγου), an expression Plato employs to indicate who the author is—that is, the one who had to be questioned and reason—of a certain discourse (*Symp.* 177d; *Phaedr.* 257b). Such an expression doubtlessly bears with it the history of a metaphor of subordination of the *logos* with respect to his father. In other contexts, both Justinian and Athanasius used it.

45 Cf. Edwards, “Clement of Alexandria and His Doctrine of the *Logos*,” 173.

46 Cf. Eric F. Osborn, *The Philosophy of Clement of Alexandria* (Cambridge University Press, 1957), 58.

something different, and the dialogue with philosophical systems becomes more urgent.

Initially, *σχέσις* occurs twice. Clement develops an argument intended to lead to the assimilation of the ontological meaning of creation *ex nihilo*. Clement decisively rejects any “relation of nature” between God and the world, both to rule out any wish to define a connection between God and the world that might risk construing creation as necessitating the emanatianist participation of the divine substance, and to avoid any notion that God is bound to humankind by necessary ties. Here *σχέσις* is united to φύσις, and the negation of any necessary relation of God toward the world is a new ontological claim that foreshadows the speculative elaboration that follows, which distinguishes between divine and created nature,⁴⁷ and hence lays claim to a new ontology of the limit that is an ontology of the gift.⁴⁸

Human beings learn to share as a result of justice; they pass on to others some of what they have received from God out of a relation of nature (*σχέσιν*) of kindness and obedience to the commandments. But God has no relation of nature (*φυσικὴν σχέσιν*) towards us, as the founders of heresies like to think. It makes no difference whether we were formed out of nothingness or from matter, since the former has no existence at all, while the latter is totally distinct from God—unless one is impertinent enough to suggest that we are part of him and are of the same substance as God. I do not know how anyone can countenance this, once he has known God and turned his eyes upon our lives and the evils in which we are immersed.⁴⁹

This passage is particularly significant when compared to the passage from the *Paedagogus* cited above, for here Clement continues his argument by claiming

47 A study of *σχέσις* leads one to think that such a distinction might be perfectly understood by Clement even if it is not yet perfectly formulated in a new ontology of the *Logos-Son*.

48 This is elaborated and explained by Maspero, *Essere e Relazione*, 121.

49 Κοινωνικός μὲν γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ὑπὸ δικαιοσύνης γίνεται καὶ μεταδίδωσιν ὧν ἔλαβεν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τε φυσικὴν εὐνοίαν καὶ σχέσιν διὰ τε τὰς ἐντολὰς αἷς πείθεται· ὁ θεὸς δὲ οὐδεμίαν ἔχει πρὸς ἡμᾶς φυσικὴν σχέσιν, ὥς οἱ τῶν αἱρέσεων κτίσται θέλουσιν, (οὐτ' εἰ ἐκ μὴ ὄντων ποιῶν οὐτ' εἰ ἐξ ὕλης δημιουργοί, ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν οὐδ' ὅλως ὄν, ἢ δὲ κατὰ πάντα ἑτέρα τυγχάνει τοῦ θεοῦ) εἰ μὴ τις μέρος αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁμοουσίους ἡμᾶς τῷ θεῷ τολμήσει λέγειν· καὶ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἀνέξεται τις ἐπαίων τούτου θεὸν ἐγνωκώς, ἀπιδὼν εἰς τὸν βίον τὸν ἡμέτερον, ἐν ὅσοις φυρόμεθα κακοῖς. *Strom* II 16, 73, 4–74, 3. Trans. Ferguson, *Clement of Alexandria: Stromateis*, 207–8. Variations are mine. It is interesting to note that Origen will use a similar expression τὴν σχέσιν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους τοῦ θεοῦ to mean the providence of God in *Cels.* III 75, 20–24.

that we are not part of God, nor are we affiliated by nature (μήτε μορίων ὄντων αὐτοῦ μήτε φύσει τέκνων⁵⁰). Rather, God demonstrates the fullness of his goodness precisely because he cares for us, though by nature we are utterly other (ἐχόντων ἡμῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ φύσει ἀπηλλοτριωμένων⁵¹). The reference to the natural goodness and piety of God and to our *not* being affiliated by nature, when read in light of the above passage from the *Paedagogus*, renders the meaning of the Father-Logos relation attributed by Clement all the more clear. It seems to consist in an intimate relation within the divine nature—and one which is a natural affiliation within divine nature—ontologically distinct from the relationship that humankind might have with God. Yet it grants meaning to the Word that God addresses to humans.

The last passage that we will examine presents Clement's perspective on apophaticism, finely distinguishing it from the apophaticism of the Valentinians and Gnostic contemporaries. This is found in the twelfth chapter of the fifth book of the *Stromata*, where Clement comments on the scriptural passage: *Moses drew near to the thick darkness where God was* (Exod 20:21) and the Second Letter to the Corinthians, where Paul says, *I know a man in Christ who fourteen years ago was caught up to the third heaven . . . and he heard things that cannot be told, which man may not utter.*" (2 Cor 12:2.4) Faced with this alleged apophaticism of Scripture, Clement juxtaposes to it philosophical writings, calling to mind the poet Solon, as well as John⁵² and the *Parmenides* of Plato.

Yet while he claims that there is no single name for God that would qualify as his proper name,⁵³ he says:

For each one by itself does not express God; but all together are indicative of the power of the Omnipotent. For predicates are expressed either from what belongs to things themselves, or from their mutual relation (ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλα σχέσεως). But none of these are admissible in reference to God.⁵⁴

We cannot but note an apparent contradiction here. Nothing of that which exists can be placed in reciprocal relation to God, nor even name Him. Rather,

50 *Strom.* II 16, 75, 1.

51 *Strom.* II 16, 75, 2 (cf. Col 1:21; Eph 2:4; 4:18).

52 See Osborn, *The Philosophy of Clement of Alexandria*, 28–30.

53 *Strom* V 12, 82, 2.

54 Οὐ γὰρ τὸ καθ' ἑκάστον μηνυτικὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἀθρόως ἅπαντα ἐνδεικτικά τῆς τοῦ παντοκράτορος δυνάμεως· τὰ γὰρ λεγόμενα ἢ ἐκ τῶν προσόντων αὐτοῖς ῥητά ἐστιν ἢ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλα σχέσεως, οὐδὲν δὲ τούτων λαβεῖν οἶόν τε περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ. *Strom* V 12, 82, 2.

all philosophical names taken together serve only to indicate his power. Following Clement, we read this reference to the Ungenerated:

Nor any more is He apprehended by the science of demonstration. For it depends on primary and better known principles. But there is nothing antecedent to the Unbegotten.⁵⁵

Whereas the other's apophatism permits no word to be used with regard to God—since it eliminates any possible recourse whatsoever to reason when speaking of God's essential characteristics—Clement here does something of a sharply different nature theoretically. He validates the tenor of metaphysical philosophy, recognizing the value of the names "One," "Good," "Being" and "Intellect," or "Father," "Creator," "Lord." He places the apophatic limit on the divine essence—for nothing can be shown to be in relation to the Ungenerated—yet attributes value to the names that make God the principle of operations (all philosophical names taken as a whole are indicative of God's power). The concept of God is now purified of categorial attributions of being. Clement does not deny thought the possibility of availing itself of the notions on which a legitimate knowledge of God might rest. But the underlying reason for the value of these names lies in the fact that they come from the *Logos*, and the *Logos* proceeds from God:

It remains that we understand, then, the Unknown, by divine grace, and by the word alone that proceeds from Him; as Luke in the Acts of the Apostles relates, Paul said, *Men of Athens, I perceive that in all things you are very religious. For in walking about, and beholding the objects of your worship, I found an altar on which it was inscribed, To the Unknown God. Whom therefore you ignorantly worship, Him I declare unto you* (Acts 17:22–23).⁵⁶

One can now plainly see how Clement holds that the proclamation of the Gospel propagates a new knowledge of God that supersedes philosophical knowledge, inasmuch as one knows the Ungenerated personally through the relation between the Father and the Son-*Logos*.

55 *Strom* V 12, 82, 3.

56 *Strom* V 12, 82, 4.

4 Conclusion: Clement's Philosophical Anthropology and Biblical Ontology

The initial structure of the analysis of the occurrences of *σχέσις* permits the conclusion that Clement uses *σχέσις* as a common term, one to which he assigns various meanings:

- 1) In a context that is not properly theological, the most frequent meaning is anthropological. Clement refers to the *σχέσις* of man, conducting a discourse on the passions and on moral education. The occurrences take on no particular significance, nor do they demonstrate any discontinuity with the notion of the soul and the eclectic Greek morality which was predominant in Clement's own time. He seems interested in describing an assimilation (*ἐξομίωσις*) to God that imparts to the spirit a stable *σχέσις*, rather than one prone to change through the influence of material passions.⁵⁷
- 2) Reference to *σχέσις* in a theological context is particularly interesting in that it harkens back to the *Logos*—both because it is a literary genre and because it represents the relation between the Father and the Son. Ambivalence with respect to the use of *logos* and therefore also of the *σχέσις* of the *logos* (speech, Scripture, Word-Son) in any event does not prevent it from being observed in Clement, whose claims are heavily ontological in character and are formulated on a biblical foundation.
- 3) This theological ontology and exegesis has immediate ramifications for the conception of language, introducing into any speech concerning God a new line of apophatic demarcation that is not so much (and not only) a protection of the concept of God, but rather safeguards the freely given gift of the *Logos* and the revelation of God received through him, inasmuch as He is the beloved Son-*Logos*, who is God.
- 4) The tenor of this divine ontology, sustained by biblical interpretation, makes of Clement a pioneer of theological thought. The struggle against Gnostic heresy, among other things, opened the way to overcoming a metaphysical paradigm and a hermeneutics of being that was seen to embody merely a battle between opposites. He introduced the contemplation of reality as something good—something derived from a single principle of good, that is good in and of itself and because in and of

57 On Clement's usage of the word *πάθος* and its relevance within his interpretation of assimilation to God, see Veronika Černušková, "The concept of *εὐπάθεια* in Clement of Alexandria," *SP* 64 (2013) 87–98, here 88.

Himself, it is the Father who loves the Son-*Logos*, and by whom the Father is in turn loved.

The conception of relationship and of God derived from a study of σχέσις in Clement is one that holds God to be the source of all good, which is *per se* the relationship of reciprocal love between the Father and the Son. It is a conception of a God who has no necessary connection to the world and whose essence is not subject to any demonstration, nor appropriately spoken of by human reason. But if it is He who loves the Son, Who is His *Logos*, in revelation He offers to humankind a relation with Himself that is the very reflection of the Father's disposition toward the Son. It is precisely via the act of creation that this takes place, as well as through the protreptic and pedagogical acts of the *Logos*.

The history of dogma will emphasize the power and fragility of such a theological framework: if in fact through Clement's faithfulness to the Johanne exegesis the identity of the Son-*Logos* is illuminated along with his specific relation to the Father—that is, his relation in God—the conception of the *Logos* will at length need to be refined in order to be fully restored to the reality of filiation in the Godhead, and thus to become the authentic bearer of the immanent relation to the divine οὐσία.

Clement's Exegetical Interests in *Stromateis* VIII

Matyáš Havrda

To the memory of Alžběta Drexlerová (1974–2014).



1 After *Stromateis* VII

There is hardly a more difficult and controversial question in Clementine scholarship than the origin and purpose of the fragmentary texts that follow the seventh book of the *Stromateis* in Codex Laurentianus Pluteus 5.3, virtually the only manuscript we have of this work.¹ These texts are usually divided into three units: the eighth book of the *Stromateis*, *Excerpts from Theodotus*, and *Eclogae Propheticae*. The demarcation and naming of the last two units are relatively unproblematic (although there is some debate about the *meaning* of these names)² and each of them is also internally consistent, as regards their content and style. The first unit, however, is trickier. In fact, there is little justification in the manuscript or in ancient sources to identify it as the eighth book of the *Stromateis*.³ Although this title—Στρωματεὺς ὀγδοος—does appear at the beginning, it is unlikely that it refers to the segment ending before the start of the *Excerpts*.⁴ It seems, rather, that it relates either to the first half of the first

1 The text of the *Stromateis* is also preserved in Parisinus Suppl. Graecus 250 from the 16th century. But this manuscript depends on Plut. 5.3. (11th cent.). Cf. Otto Stählin, in Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protrepticus und Paedagogus* (GCS 12; Leipzig: Akademie-Verlag, 1905), xxxix.

2 Cf. Alain Le Boulluec, "Extraits d'œuvres de Clément d'Alexandrie. La transmission et le sens de leurs titres," in *idem*, *Alexandrie antique et chrétienne: Clément et Origène* (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2006), 109–22, here 109–14.

3 This identification is first made in the *editio princeps* of the *Stromateis*, published (on the basis of Plut. 5.3) by Piero Vettori (Petrus Victorius) in 1550.

4 It is true that the scribe of Plut. 5.3 indicates a major breaking-point before the start of *Exc.* (fol. 361^r): *Excerpta* have a centre-aligned superscription with an asterisk, preceded by a decorated line with floral motifs, the same kind of line that is placed at the end of some of the previous books of the *Stromateis*. Above the line we have a *subscriptio* indicating the end of the preceding text. All this seems to confirm the view that this is the point at which *Strom.* VIII ends. The trouble with this view is that the *subscriptio* marks this not as the end of

text only (this was the opinion of Otto Stählin),⁵ or to all the material after the seventh book. One reason for choosing the latter alternative is the length of the material as a whole: taken together, the material falls just below the average length of the regular books of the *Stromateis*, being only eight to ten pages shorter than books II, IV and V and nineteen pages longer than book III.⁶ This, of course, need not mean (and almost certainly does not mean) that Clement himself thought of these texts as another book of the *Stromateis*. But there are reasons to believe that whoever added the title meant to cover all three texts by it. If this is correct, the first text has no title of its own. Nevertheless, it does possess a certain degree of unity, both in content and style, which stands out especially against the contrasting background of the other two texts.

Despite their differences, the three texts after the seventh book have something in common. One of these common features is captured in the titles of the second and third units, characterizing them as ἐπιτομαί (summaries) and ἐκλογαί (selections), respectively. These titles seem to reflect the understanding that these texts are based on other sources. Ἐκ τῶν προφητικῶν ἐκλογαί renders the view that the third text consists of passages selected from the “prophetic writings,” i.e. from the Old Testament, whereas the title of the second unit indicates that they are summaries from the writings of Theodotus

Strom. VIII, but rather of a section called αἱ τῶν ζητήσεων ἔφοδοι καὶ ἀρχαὶ περὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἐν τοῦτοις [εἰσὶν], which starts approximately in the middle of the preceding text (fol. 353^r, after sixteen paragraphs of Stählin's edition). If the scribe, who was anxious to make clear that there is a breaking-point here, had thought that this point is the end of *Strom.* VIII, surely he would have chosen a *subscriptio* to that effect?

- 5 Cf. Stählin in GCS 12, xli, basing himself on the superscription on fol. 353^r (see previous note) and a Syriac source dated to the 8th–9th century, which quotes *Strom.* VIII 5, 16, 2 as “the end of book eight”; cf. Theodor Zahn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanon und der altkirchlichen Literatur III: Supplementum Clementium* (Erlangen: Andreas Deichert, 1884), 28. Stählin's conclusion is disputed by Le Boulluec, “Extraits,” 116–7.
- 6 These are my counts of the sizes of the individual books according to Plut. 5.3. Book I: 129 pp. (fols. 1–65^r, at least one folio missing); II: 90+ pp. (fols. 65^v–111^r + 5 lines on fol. 111^v); III: 63+ pp. (fols. 111^v–143^v + 13 lines on fol. 144^r); IV: 91 pp. (fols. 144^r–190^v, the book starts and ends roughly in the middle of a page); V: 92 pp. (fols. 191^r–237^v); VI: 115 pp. (fols. 238^r–296^r); VII: 98 pp. (296^v–346^r); “*Strom.* VIII” + *Exc.* + *Ecl.*: 82 pp. (346^v–388^r). The manuscript ends abruptly and we know that something was lost at the end, as more of the *Eclogae* is preserved in several manuscripts containing excerpts from Clement's works (cf. Stählin in GCS 12, xlvii–li). We may add by the way that whatever was lost at the end, it must have been lost *earlier* than in Plut. 5.3, since in the latter manuscript the text ends at the *recto* side of the last folio, leaving the final page empty. If this is a correct conclusion, it follows that the “Excerpthandschriften” are *not* excerpted from Plut. 5.3, as Stählin argues (*ibid.*).

(ἐκ τῶν Θεοδούτου... ἐπιτομαί), pertaining to Valentinian teaching.⁷ Both titles are misleading insofar as they suggest that the texts are *merely* selections or summaries from other sources, since in *Eclogae Propheticae* Clement attaches more or less extensive commentaries to the selected passages and in *Excerpts from Theodotus* he also adds his comments.⁸ All this roughly fits the description of the first unit, aptly characterized by Christian von Bunsen as *Isagoge dialectica* ("Introduction to logic").⁹ Surpassing by far the level of philosophical expertise witnessed in Clement's other writings, this text is also likely to be a set of excerpts or epitomes from a philosophical source, whose main theme is the theory of demonstration. As with the other two texts, but less frequently, Clement occasionally adds his comments and notes. Another common feature should be at least mentioned: in all three texts we find parallels, sometimes very close, with the regular books of the *Stromateis*.¹⁰ We cannot speculate on the ramifications of this fact here, but in view of the question of the origin and purpose of the material it is worth looking into these parallels to see if they shed any light, for example, on the relative chronology of the *Stromateis* and the material after the seventh book. Finally, all these texts are concerned in one way or another with biblical exegesis. This is obvious in *Eclogae Propheticae*,

7 On the meaning of ἐκ τῶν προφητικῶν ἐκλογαί cf. Le Boulluec, "Extraits," 112–3, mentioning Eusebius' work with the same title, which consisted of comments on selected passages from the Old Testament. Another instructive parallel is 'Εκλογαί by Melito of Sardes, a work described by its author as "selections from the Law and the Prophets concerning the Saviour and the whole of our faith" (ἐκλογαίς ἐκ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν περὶ τοῦ σωτήρος καὶ πάσης τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν); cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* IV 26, 13. As far as the title ἐκ τῶν Θεοδούτου κτλ. ἐπιτομαί is concerned, Le Boulluec argues that it refers not to the *writings* of Theodotus, but to his *views* ("Extraits," 110–1: "Le neuter τὰ Θεοδούτου ne désigne pas 'les œuvres de Théodote', mais 'les [idées, ou les thèses] de Théodote', sur le même plan que la διδασκαλία, l' 'enseignement', la 'doctrine', dans le deuxième member du titre."). This strikes me as unlikely. Although the word ἐπιτομή can refer to a summary of views (as exemplified by Theophrastus' αἱ τῶν φυσικῶν δοξῶν ἐπιτομαί), there seems to be no evidence that it is ever used with the preposition ἐκ in this sense. As far as I can see, the expression "ἐκ τῶν X [gen.] ἐπιτομή" always refers to a summary from a work written by X. As regards the words καὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς καλουμένης διδασκαλίας etc, I take καὶ to be epexegetic and the whole phrase to be a specification of the contents of the writing in question.

8 Cf. Le Boulluec, "Extraits," 110f.

9 *Analecta Ante-Nicaena*, vol. 1 (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1854), 167–200.

10 This is true especially of the "eighth book"; cf. Wilhelm Ernst, *De Clementis Alexandrini Stromatum libro VIII. qui fertur* (Göttingen: Officina Hubertiana, 1910). But cf. also *Ecl.* 60, 1 and *Strom.* VII 12, 79, 1; *Exc.* 27 and *Strom.* V 6, 39, 3–40, 1. The matter requires further examination.

less so perhaps in *Excerpts from Theodotus* and least of all in the first unit.¹¹ Nevertheless, a case can be made that Clement's main focus of interest when writing these texts was biblical exegesis. In what follows I will try to make this case for the part commonly known as the eighth book of the *Stromateis*.

2 Isagoge Dialectica

As mentioned above, the main theme of this part is the theory of demonstration. It has long been observed that when presenting this theory Clement draws from a Greek philosophical source, sometimes characterized by scholars as a handbook or an introduction to logical matters.¹² As I have argued elsewhere, there are compelling reasons to think that this source (or at least one of the sources) is Galen, probably his lost writing *On Demonstration*.¹³ But I am not going to dwell on this point here; rather, my aim is to show why Clement is interested in this topic.

Let me start by saying, very briefly, what demonstration is according to our text. Generally speaking, demonstration is described as a method of solving problems, i.e. of propositions set out for an inquiry.¹⁴ Approaching a problem (typically a disputed issue, a question producing contrary opinions), a researcher seeks to construct an argument showing that a particular judgement about that problem is true. This means that the judgement one wishes to prove is presented as a conclusion of a syllogistic inference; in other words, as a statement that necessarily follows from some other propositions (the premisses). It also means that the propositions from which the statement follows must confirm the statement, i.e. they must make sure that it is true.¹⁵ But,

11 For the *Eclogae*, cf. esp. Michel Cambe, *Avenir solaire et angélique des justes. Le psaume 19 (18) commenté par Clément d'Alexandrie* (Cahiers de la Biblia patristica 10; Strasbourg: L'Université de Strasbourg, 2009).

12 Cf. esp. the pioneering work by Hans von Arnim, *De octavo Clementis Stromateorum libro* (Rostock: Adler, 1894), who calls the source *introductio dialectica*. Cf. also Christiane von Wedel, *Symbola ad Clementis Alexandrini stromatum librum VIII. Interpretandum* (Weimar: Wagner, 1905); Ernst, *De Clementis Alexandrini Stromatum libro VIII. qui fertur*; R.E. Witt, *Albinus and the History of Middle Platonism* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1937), 29–41; Jaap Mansfeld, *Heresiography in Context* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 62–3.

13 Cf. my "Galenus Christianus? The Doctrine of Demonstration in Stromata VIII and the Question of its Source," *VChr* 65 (2011) 343–75 and "Categories in Stromata VIII," *Elenchos* 33 (2012) 197–225.

14 Cf. *Strom.* VIII 3, 8, 4–5, 15, 1.

15 Cf. *Strom.* VIII 2, 4, 1; 3, 6, 1–2; 3, 7, 6.

according to Clement, there are two ways of making sure that something is true. Some conclusions may be accepted because they follow from premisses that are trustworthy not in virtue of themselves but in virtue of the fact that most people or the most trustworthy people believe them. These are the reputable premisses (τὰ ἔνδοξα), which generate persuasion, but not knowledge.¹⁶ Arguments based on such premisses may be regarded as demonstrations in a loose sense at best. Demonstrations in the strict sense must be based on premisses that are convincing in virtue of themselves or, as Clement puts it, that are “plainly apparent” (ἐναργῶς φαινόμενα).¹⁷ Thus, the main task for anyone wishing to demonstrate anything is to find premisses suitable to this task, appropriate to the problem and capable of proving whatever proposition one wishes to prove. The question of how to look for these premisses, “the method of discovery,” is one of the key issues discussed in the text.¹⁸

This summary does not do justice to the contents of the “eighth book” as a whole. After presenting a general theory of demonstration and showing, by way of example, how to look for appropriate premisses, the text goes on to address other issues, whose connection to the main topic is less direct: One chapter deals with division and definition (6, 17, 1–21, 6); another discusses the Aristotelian categories (8, 23, 1–24, 9); further sections treat the sceptic notion of the suspension of judgement (5, 15, 2–16, 3; 7, 22, 1–4); and a long chapter presents and compares various models of causation (9, 25, 1–33, 9). When reading this difficult but fascinating text closely, confronting it line-by-line and word-by-word with Clement’s other writings and Greek philosophical sources, we come to discern, behind these shreds of a lost work, a subtle mind of an original thinker deeply versed in the Aristotelian tradition, whose education, language and interests are very different from Clement’s own. And this mind also determines the overall agenda of the text. In contrast to Clement’s usual practice of appropriating his sources, here, for the most part, he leaves the source speak for itself. Apart from being responsible, perhaps, for the choice of excerpted passages, he exerts little control over the source. One instance that nicely illustrates this lack of control is the discussion of “indication” (ἐνδειξις), i.e. a method of inference in which a conclusion about an object can be reached by means of a single premiss. “For example,” says Clement, “when a woman gives birth to a child we call it an indication that she is no longer a

16 Cf. *Strom.* VIII 3, 7, 7–8.

17 Cf. *Strom.* VIII 3, 5, 2–3; 3, 6, 7–7, 4.

18 For “the method of discovery” cf. *Strom.* VIII 4, 9, 6. The procedure is illustrated by the example of the question: “Is the embryo an animal or not?” Cf. 4, 9, 7–13, 8.

virgin.”¹⁹ As a parallel in Cicero shows, this example comes from the Greek rhetorical tradition.²⁰ But it is a little bit surprising to find it in a writer like Clement, who shares the belief of the Christian community that Mary, the mother of Jesus, gave birth to a child while remaining a virgin.²¹ Were Clement presenting this example in his own voice, he would hardly have left it without a further comment.

3 The First “Chapter”

However, there is no doubt that, while letting his source speak for itself, Clement approaches it with an agenda of his own. This transpires most clearly at the beginning of the text, a section conventionally referred to as “chapter one.” This section delivers everything one would expect from a passage written by Clement. Although rooted in the Greek philosophical polemic against scepticism, it cleverly blends expressions and metaphors of philosophical origin with biblical quotations and allusions, without swerving for a single moment from the course of Clement’s own preoccupations. This is Clement as we know him, vague, allusive, captivating, and in full control of his writing. The text starts abruptly, as if in the middle of an argument, invoking the authority of “the most ancient philosophers” against the “more recent ones,” who are likely some sceptics. Clement refutes the idea of endless disputes and puzzles, believing that inquiry, when conducted correctly, can lead to knowledge. Here, of course, he agrees with the so-called “dogmatist” schools of Greek philosophy, criticized by the sceptics. But the argument from the authority of the “ancients,” which played an important part in Greek antic-sceptic polemic, is immediately complemented by an argument from the Bible, showing that Clement’s intended audience is Christian, not Greek. Here is how the text begins:

But the most ancient philosophers were not lead towards disputing and puzzling over things, either. So how could we, who hold upon the really true philosophy and whom Scripture straightway commands to seek for the sake of finding, so that we investigate? For the more recent Greek philosophers, carried away by vain and endless ambition, have been reduced to useless foolery by refutations and contentious arguments. In contrast,

19 *Strom.* VIII 3, 6, 1.

20 Cicero, *Inv.* 72.

21 Cf. e.g., *Strom.* III 17, 102, 1; VI 15, 127, 1; VII 16, 93, 7. I owe this observation to Jonathan Barnes.

the barbarian philosophy rejects all contention and says: *Seek and you will find, knock and it will open, ask and it will be given to you.*²²

Clement does not explain who the “more recent philosophers” are and why he is concerned with them. One passage in which he might have similar opponents in mind is the beginning of the last part of the seventh book of the *Stromateis*, where Clement announces his plan to solve certain “puzzles” (ἀπορίαι), brought up against the Christian faith by some “Greeks and Jews.”²³ These “puzzles” include the objection from disagreement (διαφωνία) among various schools of Christian doctrine. This sounds like a sceptic objection and, whoever Clement’s opponents were, he may have thought of them as sceptics.²⁴ In our passage, when implying that his opponents “dispute and puzzle over things,” Clement might have the same people in mind as those in the seventh book, voicing his indignation over the “puzzles” they bring up against the Christian faith. On the other hand, the point of our passage is different. Clement does not combat any objections against the Christian faith and there is little evidence that his opponents are aware of Christianity at all. It seems, rather, that he distances himself, more generally, from the practice of a particular kind of argument, viz. one that always ends in ἀπορία, along with a view implied by this practice, according to which truth cannot be found. Is this a prelude to a debate about specific ἀπορίαι, announced in the seventh book? We do not know. In any case, no such debate is preserved in the “eighth book” or anywhere else in Clement’s writings.

As mentioned above, in our passage, the contrast between the practice of the “more recent philosophers” and the attitude of the “most ancient” ones is complemented by the word of Scripture. The quoted verse is Matt 7:7, where Jesus bids his disciples: *Seek and you will find, knock and it will open, ask and it will be given to you.* Clement quotes it not only as an assurance that truth can be found, but also as an obligation, a “command” addressed to the Christians, to seek for the truth in a certain way, viz. by means of investigation.²⁵ What follows until the end of the chapter is a commentary on this verse, explaining

22 *Strom.* VIII 1, 1, 1–2.

23 *Strom.* VII 15, 89, 1–2.

24 Cf. Le Boulluec, *La notion d'hérésie dans la littérature grecque II^e–III^e siècles II: Clément d'Alexandrie et Origène* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1985), 365–6, 370 and n. 26. But note that Clement’s opponents may have used this argument against Christians without being sceptics in the philosophical sense. Clement may have construed their position as “sceptic” for polemical reasons.

25 For Clement’s use of Matt 7:7 cf. Le Boulluec, *La notion d'hérésie*, 385–9.

what this obligation entails.²⁶ As is often the case with Clement's explanations, this commentary is a sort of enigma itself, requiring a Delphic diver to fathom its message:

And so, in the course of inquiry (or "seeking," ζήτησις), the argument in the form of questions and answers knocks on the door of truth, in accordance with the apparent (κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον). And when, in the course of investigation, the obstacle is opened, epistemic contemplation comes in. I think that if we knock in this manner, the thing sought will open to us; and if we ask in this manner, through questions and answers in accordance with Scriptures, the goal we pursue will come to us from God: the gift of God-given knowledge, shining out in an illuminating way by means of a truly rational inquiry.²⁷

This is a typically Clementine discourse, intentionally vague and allusive, pointing towards the core meaning from various angles, but always indirectly. The text is rich with Platonic allusions used in similar contexts elsewhere in Clement's writings.²⁸ The idea that inquiry proceeds "in accordance with the apparent" seems to be derived from Greek scientific literature. In the tradition of the Empirical medicine, τὸ φαινόμενον designates a datum of experience which precedes and guides judgment. Galen also applies the expression to things clearly apparent to the intellect, e.g., the axioms of logic, geometry or medicine, including them among the criteria of inquiry alongside sensible φαινόμενα.²⁹ But how far do these allusions help us to understand Clement's meaning? Fortunately, and characteristically, he does not let a perceptive reader drown in a tide of

26 Cf. Pierre Nautin, "La fin des *Stromates* et les *Hypotyposes* de Clément d'Alexandrie," *VChr* 30 (1976) 268–302, here 268 and 291.

27 *Strom.* VIII 1, 1, 3–2, 1.

28 Clement seems to have in mind especially the famous digression about inquiry and knowledge in Plato's *Seventh Letter*, where "questions and answers" are described as instruments of "friendly refutations" in the course of which "names, definitions, sights and perceptions" are "rubbed against one another" until "wisdom and understanding shines out" (*Ep.* VII 344b). We know that Clement was intrigued by this passage, as he alludes to it on several occasions; cf. *Strom.* V 10, 66, 3; 11, 77, 1; 12, 78, 1; VI 17, 150, 1. Cf. also *Strom.* I 11, 54, 1, on "charitable refutations" (οἱ μετ' ἀγάπης ἐλεγχοί). The notion of an obstacle preventing us from seeing the truth also reminds us of Plato, who speaks of irrational desires and false opinions as obstacles of true understanding (*Phaedo* 65a9–67b2). Cf. [Plato,] *Sisyphus* 389b6–c1; Plutarch, *Quaest. plat.* 1000a1–2; Clement, *Protr.* 11, 114, 1; *Strom.* VII 13, 82, 4–5 and esp. *Strom.* V 1, 11, 4.

29 Cf. Galen, *De methodo medendi* I 4 (x,36–37 K.).

hints and allusions, but throws out a safety rope enabling the reader to put all the pieces together in a meaningful way. Here the safety rope is the reference to Scripture, saying that the inquiry is carried out *κατὰ τὰς γραφάς*. For if questions and answers, by which the inquiry proceeds, are supposed to be *κατὰ τὰς γραφάς* ("in accordance with Scriptures"), then presumably Scripture must provide a basis for these questions and answers. And a plausible way of understanding how Scripture provides a basis for questions and answers is to think of the questions as questions *about* scriptural passages and of the answers as answers *derived from* scriptural passages. Presumably then, Clement speaks about biblical exegesis, in the course of which some passages are explored with the help of others.³⁰ When Clement states that the inquiry proceeds *κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον*, it could mean that the results of the inquiry must be checked against those passages whose meaning is transparent, just as in Galenic medicine the results of inquiry must be checked against perceptible or intelligible phenomena.

This interpretation gains plausibility as the text continues: "For we cannot find unless we seek," says Clement, "and we cannot seek except by investigating. And we cannot fully investigate the thing sought unless we open and unfold it, that is, clarify it by asking questions."³¹ Here, for the first time, the object of inquiry is mentioned (the "thing sought"), being described as something to be "opened," "unfolded" and "clarified." Although Clement slips back to ambiguity, the metaphor of "opening" and especially the word "clarification" (*σαφήνεια*), used by him a number of times and always in connection with biblical exegesis,³² strongly support the view that what he describes here is a process in the course of which a difficult scriptural passage is explained.

Clement even outlines something like a method of this explanation when saying that it proceeds by means of "questions and answers." In Greek philosophy, this expression often refers to the dialectical mode of reasoning, exemplified in the Platonic dialogues and described in Aristotle's *Topics*. Typically, it takes the form of a dialogue between an interlocutor and a responder, where the interlocutor may assume the role of a teacher and the responder one of a

30 For Clement's application of the hermeneutic principle "explaining X from X" (possibly inspired by the Alexandrian exegesis of Homer) cf. esp. *Strom.* VII 16, 96, 1: . . . οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἀπ' αὐτῶν περὶ αὐτῶν τῶν γραφῶν τελείως ἀποδεικνύντες, ἐκ πίστεως πειθόμεθα ἀποδεικτικῶς. Cf. Jean Pépin, art. "Hermeneutik," in *RAC* XIV (1988), 758.

31 *Strom.* VIII 1, 2, 2.

32 Cf. *Strom.* I 9, 45, 1; 20, 99, 4; VI 7, 59, 3; 16, 133, 1; VII 18, 109, 6. Cf. also VI 15, 115, 5. For the metaphor of "opening" cf. e.g., *Strom.* II 11, 49, 3, where Clement applies it to scriptural exegesis: διὰ τῆς τῶν γραφῶν παραθέσεώς τε καὶ διοίξεως. Cf. also *Ecl.* 32, 2.

student.³³ Does Clement think of the same model in our passage? When he asserts that “the argument in the form of questions and answers knocks on the door of truth,” he keeps us wondering. Nevertheless, a few lines later, he specifies that the inquirer is the *addressee* of the questions and the *provider* of answers: “Being led by desire towards the discovery of the beautiful, he inquires prudently; he is asked and gives answers without rivalry or regard for fame.”³⁴

The idea of “desire for the beautiful” as a motivating force of inquiry is, of course, of Platonic origin, but Clement conceives of it in terms of his model of the spiritual progress of the gnostic, “the progress of faith,” in the course of which, as Clement says in the seventh book, “desire arises along with inquiry with which it is mixed.”³⁵ What does it mean then that the inquirer “is asked and gives answers” when investigating Scripture? Does he have the role of a student asked by an interlocutor about the meaning of scriptural passages? Perhaps, but it is more likely that Clement thinks of him as a teacher. For, possibly reflecting his catechetical practice, Clement normally portrays the teacher as the one who gives answers and the student as the one who asks.³⁶ In an interesting passage from the sixth book of the *Stromateis*, Clement doles out methodological advice to the gnostic concerning the interpretation of difficult scriptural passages. “In case of Scriptures, too, the distinction between names and things produces great light in the souls,” says Clement. “For one must pay attention to cases when one word signifies several things and those when several words signify one thing, for this is how the ability to answer correctly comes about.”³⁷ Here, the ability to “answer correctly” (ὁρθῶς ἀποκρίνεσθαι) is likely the ability of the teacher, whose task is to interpret Scripture in such a way as to “produce great light” in the souls of his students. In our passage, the inquirer who is “asked and gives answers without rivalry or regard for fame” is probably a teacher, too, in his capacity as an exegete. Indeed, Clement’s warning that he should conduct the inquiry ἀφιλοδόξως, “without regard for fame,” is more appropriate to this description than to the role of a student.³⁸

33 Cf. e.g., Aristotle, *Top.* VIII 5, 159a25–36. In this sense the expression is used later in our text, where the method of “questions and answers” is mentioned as an alternative to a didactic “exposition” (διέξοδος) of a problem, the difference being that with “questions and answers” the teacher asks questions as opposed to explaining the problem himself; *Strom.* VIII 4, 11, 2–4.

34 *Strom.* VIII 1, 2, 3.

35 *Strom.* VII 11, 60, 2. Cf. also *Ecl.* 33, 1.

36 Cf. e.g., *Strom.* I 1, 12, 3; V 1, 8, 3; VI 10, 82, 3.

37 *Strom.* VI 10, 82, 3.

38 Cf. also *Ecl.* 27, 7: οὐ γὰρ φιλοδοξεῖ [*scil.* ὁ γνωστικός].

In addition to answering questions on the basis of Scripture, the inquirer also, according to Clement, “examines those things that people say” (ἀὐτὰ ἐπισκεπτόμενος τὰ λεγόμενα).³⁹ Again, Clement does not tell us what he means by τὰ λεγόμενα, this time giving us no clue at all. But comparison with similar formulations elsewhere allows us to make a reasoned guess. To begin with, it seems likely that τὰ λεγόμενα are somehow pertinent to the subject matter with which the inquiry “in the form of questions and answers” is concerned. For the investigation of τὰ λεγόμενα belongs to the same inquiry. But we have seen that the inquiry is concerned with difficult scriptural passages, its goal being to “unfold” them and understand their meaning. Presumably, then, τὰ λεγόμενα are somehow connected to these passages as well. Clement seems to suggest the following: Apart from trying to answer questions about biblical passages on the basis of the Bible itself, the inquirer should also pay attention to interpretations produced by other people. Clement may have in mind especially the Christian “heretics,” who are mentioned in a similar connection in the seventh book, where he assures his sceptic opponents that “we have many starting-points given to us by nature for the examination of things said” (πολλὰς ἐκ φύσεως ἀφορμὰς πρὸς τὸ ἐξετάζειν τὰ λεγόμενα); here τὰ λεγόμενα are “different things different schools [i.e. mainly the heretics] say about truth.”⁴⁰ But Clement may be thinking of Greek philosophers, too, for he believes that they also derive their teachings from Scripture, whether directly or indirectly.⁴¹ Accordingly, in the sixth book, while defending Greek philosophy against the claim that it comes from the devil, Clement appeals to his fellow Christians not to condemn things people say because of who says them, but to “examine the things said” in order to find out “if they adhere to truth” (ἀλλὰ τὰ λεγόμενα σκοπητέον, εἰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἔχεται).⁴² In our passage, Clement seems to have similar examinations in mind.

It is presumably also in view of these examinations that Clement recommends, in the next sentence, to “adhere in our investigations not only to the divine Scriptures, but also to the common notions.”⁴³ In the scientific discourse of Clement’s time, as represented, for example, by Galen, “common

39 *Strom.* VIII 1, 2, 3.

40 *Strom.* VII 15, 91, 7-5.

41 For the well-known motif of the “theft of the Greeks,” cf. e.g., Le Boulluec, “La rencontre de l’hellénisme et de la « philosophie barbare » selon Clément d’Alexandrie,” in *idem*, *Alexandrie antique et chrétienne*, 81–93, here 88–92.

42 *Strom.* VI 8, 66, 5. Clement applies the same principle to the “Phrygian” (i.e. Montanist) prophecies: ὅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προφητεύειν νῦν δὴ λεγομένων παρατηρητέον (*ibid.*).

43 *Strom.* VIII 1, 2, 4.

notions" are thought of as "generally held views about things, in accordance with which science must proceed."⁴⁴ This meaning falls in with the view that Clement regards the common notions as guidelines for examining τὰ λεγόμενα. It is likely that Clement derives these notions from the nature of human capacity to think, thus regarding them as natural criteria of truth.⁴⁵ We have seen that in the seventh book Clement speaks of "starting-points" (ἀφορμαί) for the examination of τὰ λεγόμενα, given by nature. Here the vocabulary is of Stoic origin⁴⁶ and refers to the idea that rational beings, by virtue of being rational, are equipped with certain preconceptions that enable them to "differentiate between that which is inconsistent, inappropriate, unnatural, and false, and that which is true, consistent, appropriate, and in accordance with nature," as Clement puts it. He adds that these are the "starting-points" we should use when searching for the truth.⁴⁷ In light of our passage, we may doubt to what extent Clement regards "the common notions" as indispensable tools for the exegesis of Scripture (both the questions and the answers, he says, are κατὰ τὰς γραφάς), but he certainly is of the opinion that any attempt to put up with things other people say about the truth must uphold the "common notions" as a reference-point of the debate.

When reading the first chapter of the "eighth book," the reader is left with the impression that this is an introduction, or a fragment of an introduction, to a more detailed exposition of the methodological guidelines adumbrated above. It was perhaps this impression that helped to create the view that the text is another book of the *Stromateis*. But, as I have mentioned, this impression is probably not correct. If it were correct, we should expect the following chapters to retain focus on the agenda laid out in the first chapter. In other words, we should expect to learn more about methods of biblical exegesis or about the ways in which a Christian teacher should deal with the teachings of other schools. Instead, starting with the second chapter, we are given an exposition of the theory of demonstration, which gives no heed whatsoever to the specific concerns of a Christian teacher. This is not to say that there is no connection between the first chapter and the rest of the material at all. Clement

44 R.J. Hankinson, *Galen: On Antecedent Causes* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), 244; cf. also Galen, *De methodo medendi* I 5 (X 40,12–16 K.) and the commentary of R.J. Hankinson, *Galen on the Therapeutic Method* (Oxford: OUP, 1991), 131.

45 For Clement's view of natural criteria, see *Strom.* VII 16, 93, 2 and my "Demonstrative Method," 273.

46 Cf. e.g., *Strom.* II 21, 129, 4. See also SVF II 988; III 214, 228, 264; Cleanthes 566; Epictetus, *Dissertationes* IV 1, 51; Marcus Aurelius, *Ad se ipsum* IX 1, 2.

47 *Strom.* VII 15, 91, 7–8.

seems to point out this connection when he says, at the end of the first chapter, that the “lover and disciple of truth,” by whom he means the Christian teacher, proceeds towards knowledge “through scientific demonstration.”⁴⁸ This shows that he found the discussion starting in chapter two relevant to his idea of Christian inquiry. But with regard to the question of *how* it is relevant, he does not say more than what we have just heard. In fact, the main goal of the first chapter seems to be precisely to show how the material in the “eighth book” is relevant to Clement’s own concerns. Whether or not Clement had planned to elaborate this point any further, we do not know. But clearly he was fascinated by this material, regarding it as potentially useful for his own—exegetical, polemical, and, above all, didactic—purposes.

4 Exegetical Glosses

I have dwelt on the first chapter, as it is the most extensive part of the “eighth book” that betrays Clement’s interests as a Christian thinker. Later in the text we come across other passages of the same description, few in number and rather brief. Two general observations can be made about these passages. First, in neither does Clement try to adapt the demonstrative *method* to the needs of a Christian thinker. All he has to say in this regard is found in the first chapter. Second, these passages indicate that Clement’s main concern as the reader of his source-material was its usability in biblical exegesis.

For example, in the chapter on causes, there is a discussion about the ability of things to be acted upon in a certain way and the question of how far this ability contributes to the effect produced by the agent force. While admitting that, as the Stoics believe, “every cause is conceived of as doing something,” the text argues that the passive counterpart in the causal process (e.g., wood while being burned or body while being cut) should be conceived as a cause, too. In the middle of this discussion we are given the following sentence: “Earth cannot make itself, and so it cannot be a cause of itself.”⁴⁹ This sentence is off-topic and interrupts the continuity of thought. Most likely it is a marginal gloss inspired by the definition of a cause as “that which does something”: If earth cannot create itself, it argues, it cannot be its own cause, with the implication that earth must have a cause beyond itself. This gloss is clearly the work of a Christian writer engrossed by the account of creation in Genesis 1:1, where we learn that *God created heaven and earth*. It seems to suggest how the discussion

48 *Strom.* VIII 1, 2, 5.

49 *Strom.* VIII 9, 28, 5: αὐτὴν δὲ οὐκ ἂν ποιοίη ἡ γῆ, ὥστε οὐδὲ αἰτία ἂν εἴη ἑαυτῆς.

about causes could have been used in the explanation of this account. Most likely the author of the gloss is Clement himself.

Another instance of what seems to be an intervention by a Christian thinker is found a few lines further on, in a section whose aim is to show that nothing is its own cause. A more general context for the debate concerns the relativity of causes, more specifically the view that every cause is conceived (*scil.* as a cause) in relation to something else (9, 29, 2: κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ἕτερον νοεῖται σχέσιν). Taking the examples of father and son, the text argues that nothing can be a cause in relation to itself, since that which acts on an object and fashions it in a certain way cannot be acted upon and fashioned at the same time:

No one can be his own father, for otherwise that which is first would come second. For a cause indeed acts and fashions its object, whereas that which comes about by that cause is affected and fashioned by it. Is it impossible for anything to act and be fashioned at the same time, or to be a son and a father, in relation to itself.⁵⁰

Moreover, the text points out that every cause is prior in time to that which comes about by it, as a knife is prior to a cut; but it is impossible for anything to be both prior and posterior in time, in relation to itself. Finally, that which becomes P does so through the agency of something that already *is* P. But it is impossible for the same thing to be and to become P at the same time. Therefore, the text concludes, nothing is its own cause.⁵¹

All these arguments and examples go back to philosophical sources and there seems to be nothing particularly Christian or Clementine about them.⁵² However, the way they are introduced is peculiar: "The same argument can be made about a craftsman and a creator and a father."⁵³ It is true that in the subsequent section the father is used as an example of a cause, showing the impossibility of self-causation; and it is also true that a craftsman or a creator could serve as just as good an example as the father (even though neither

50 *Strom.* VIII 9, 29, 3–4: οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτό τι ἑαυτοῦ αἴτιον οὐδὲ ἑαυτοῦ τις πατήρ, ἐπεὶ τὸ πρῶτον γενήσεται δεύτερον· τό γε μὴν αἴτιον ἐνεργεῖ καὶ διατίθησι, τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ αἰτίου γενόμενον πάσχει καὶ διατίθεται. οὐ δύναται δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πρὸς ἑαυτῷ λαμβανόμενον ἐνεργεῖν ἅμα καὶ διατίθεσθαι, οὐδὲ υἱὸς εἶναι καὶ πατήρ.

51 *Strom.* VIII 9, 29, 5–6.

52 Cf. Plato, *Hipp. maj.* 297c; *Phileb.* 27a; Aristotle, *Metaph.* IX 8, 1049b23–27; Galen, *De plenitudine* 3 (VII,525,7 K.). On being and becoming and the (implied) principle that causes bring about something they already are, cf. Aristotle, *Phys.* II 7, 198a26–27; III 2, 202a9–13; Galen, *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis* VI 8, 13 (CMG V,4,1,2, p. 410,13–14 / V,566–567 K.).

53 *Strom.* VIII 9, 29, 3: ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ περὶ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ καὶ ποιητοῦ λόγος καὶ πατρός.

of them is mentioned ever again in our text). But there is something odd about this introduction: If the point of the passage is that nothing can be its own cause, why is it described as an argument *about* a craftsman, etc? Do we need an argument to believe that no craftsman, creator or father can be his own cause? Surely not, since, in what follows, the father is chosen as the *explanans*, not as the *explanandum*. Nevertheless, one word that I have concealed so far could help us untangle this enigmatic phrase. When speaking about the chronological priority of causes, the text says: “But it is impossible for something to be both chronologically prior to matter, as a cause, and, at the same time and in the same respect, posterior and later, as an effect of a cause.”⁵⁴ Here, the impossibility of self-causation is illustrated by the (absurd) example of something conceived as a cause with respect to matter, something that, at the same time, is posterior to what it is a cause of, on account of being caused by it; most likely, the example is of matter causing itself. It is hard to find a parallel to this example in philosophical sources, but it nicely echoes the gloss in *Strom.* VIII 9, 28, 5 discussed above. The statement that “the same argument can be made about a craftsman and a creator and a father” could be explained along the lines of the implication we have detected in that gloss, namely that matter must have a cause beyond itself: If applied to matter, the argument about the impossibility of self-causation could be used as an argument about the existence of a cause of matter which is beyond matter, a cause that Clement is happy to call a (divine) craftsman (δημιουργός) or creator (ποιητής).⁵⁵

The last case I would like to mention is a discussion about causal reciprocity, which immediately follows the passage about the impossibility of self-causation.⁵⁶ The text draws on a distinction between two kinds of causal relations, viz. something’s being the cause *of* something else (τινος) and something’s being the cause *to* something else (τινι), where the dative refers to an object of causal activity and the genitive to the effect brought about on the object by a causal agent.⁵⁷ The text argues that, in cases of causal reciprocity, causes are not causes *of* one another, i.e. they are not each other’s effects;

54 *Strom.* VIII 9, 29, 5: οὐ δύναται δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ προχρονεῖν τῇ ὕλῃ, καθὼ αἰτίον ἐστίν, ἅμα καὶ ὑστερεῖν καὶ ὑστεροχρονεῖν, καθὼ τῆς αἰτίας ἐστὶν ἔργον.

55 Of course, Clement would have been happy to call the same cause “father” as well, but in 9, 29, 3 (GCS 99,1) the word πατὴρ is separated from the other two genitives by λόγος. It seems that in this sentence Clement makes a comparison between the argument “about the craftsman and the creator” and the one “about the father,” the latter serving as shorthand for the argument about the impossibility of self-causation, as described in Clement’s philosophical source.

56 *Strom.* VIII 9, 30, 1–5.

57 Cf. *Strom.* VIII 9, 26, 2; 9, 29, 1.

rather, they are causes *to* one another *of* some effects.⁵⁸ This is illustrated by several examples, including two persons who strike one another with a fatal blow, where both are causes of each other's death (in other words, both are causes *of* death *to* one another), but neither has his death caused by that what he has caused to the other: "For he is the cause of death to the other person, but it was not death which hit him back with a fatal blow, but the wounded person himself. Thus he has been the cause of something else than what has been the cause [of death] to him."⁵⁹ Another example concerns a wrongdoer who suffers punishment after committing an injury. Here, too, that which is caused by the wrongdoer (i.e. that *of* which he is the cause) is different from that which causes his punishment (i.e. that which is the cause of punishment to him). However, unlike in the previous example, the second agent is not the injured person, but "the law which orders retaliation". This is surprising for two reasons: First, law can hardly be taken as a cause in the sense required by our text, namely as that which does something. Second, the view that the cause of retaliation is different from the person to whom the injury has been committed sits oddly with the case that the example is supposed to illustrate, viz. the case of *causes* being the causes of something *to each other*. In fact, the passage seems to be driven by a different concern than to illustrate this (or any other) point about reciprocal causation. Shifting the focus of attention from causes to their effects, it claims that in the case of retaliation ordained by the law the punishment suffered by the wrongdoer is of a different kind than the injury he has committed: "When someone commits an injury, he becomes the cause to another of the injury he suffers, but the law that orders retaliation is not a cause of an injury, but of satisfaction to one person, and of education to another."⁶⁰ It is tempting to think that this shift of attention is motivated by a different perspective, viz. a perspective of someone who was more interested in the particular case of retributive justice than in the argument about causes. The relevance of this question to Clement's exegetical agenda is plain: The principle of retributive justice was a controversial issue in early Christianity, as it gave thinkers like Marcion an occasion to blame the Mosaic Law for relishing in the "mutual

58 *Strom.* VIII 9, 30, 1: ἀλλήλων οὐκ ἔστι τὰ αἰτία, ἀλλήλοις δὲ αἰτία.

59 *Strom.* VIII 9, 30, 4–5: ὁ μὲν γὰρ πλήξας τινὰ θανασίμως αἰτίος ἔστιν αὐτῷ τοῦ θανάτου ἢ τοῦ γίνεσθαι τὸν θάνατον, ἀντιπληγείς δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ θανασίμως ἔσχεν αὐτὸν ἀνταίτιον, οὐ καθὸ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ αἴτιος, καθ' ἕτερον δέ. αἴτιος μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ θανάτου ἐγένετο, οὐχ ὁ θάνατος δὲ τούτῳ πάλιν τὴν θανασίμην ἀντεπέθηκεν πληγὴν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ τρωθεὶς, ὥστ' ἄλλου μὲν αὐτὸς γέγονεν αἴτιος, ἄλλον δὲ ἔσχεν αἴτιον.

60 *Strom.* VIII 9, 30, 5: καὶ ὁ ἀδικήσας ἄλλῳ μὲν αἴτιος καθίσταται τοῦ ἀδικηθέντος, ὁ δὲ ἀντιτιμωρεῖσθαι κελεύων νόμος οὐκ ἀδικήματος, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν ἐκδικίας, τῷ δὲ παιδείας.

exercise of injury.”⁶¹ The point made in our passage, that retaliation for injury does not cause yet another injury, but beneficial things, suits this polemical context remarkably well. After all, either Clement himself or a later Christian glossator brings this connection out explicitly. A few lines before, in the middle of the discussion about reciprocal causation, the following verses from the Leviticus are quoted that encapsulate the principle of retributive justice within the Mosaic Law: “The *eye for an eye* and *life for a life*.”⁶²

Combining these scanty traces of Clement’s Christian interests with our findings about the first “chapter,” we reach the conclusion that, when composing the text known as *Stromateis* VIII, Clement approached his source-material from the point of view of a biblical exegete and a Christian teacher. Nevertheless, he did not deem it his duty to subordinate the material to this perspective, leaving it open to further exploitation and limiting himself to occasional comments and glosses.

61 Cf. Tertullian, *Marc.* II 18: “Non enim iniuriae mutuo exercendae licentiam sapit, sed in totum cohibendae violentiae prospicit.” Cf. Sebastian Moll, *Arch-Heretic Marcion* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 62.

62 *Strom.* VIII 9, 30, 4: τὸ ὀφθαλμὸν ἀντὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ καὶ ψυχὴν ἀντὶ ψυχῆς (Lev 24:20; 24:18).

PART 3

Clement's Exegesis of Particular Biblical Texts



Clement of Alexandria and the Book of Proverbs

Annewies van den Hoek

1 Introduction

It should come as no surprise that the Book of Proverbs plays a prominent role in the works of Clement of Alexandria. The saying traditions in Proverbs, for example, the sayings on wisdom, the praise of wisdom and its role in creation, its emphasis on instruction (*paideia*), the theme of the fear of God, and the questions of values and moral behavior, all these issues correspond closely with the interests of the Clement of Alexandria himself. Although Clement's interest in Proverbs comes as no surprise, there are nonetheless some surprising aspects of this relationship. Looking at the first volume of *Biblia Patristica*, it becomes clear that Clement quotes Proverbs more than any earlier or contemporary Christian author, if we set aside Origen.¹ Origen, of course, outdoes any predecessor or successor alike when it comes to biblical references, and for this reason he needs his own separate volume of *Biblia Patristica*.²

Not only does Clement quote Proverbs more abundantly than Tertullian, Irenaeus, the Odes of Solomon, Justin, the Roman Clement, and Theophilus, just to name the most prominent of his contemporaries, but he also quotes Proverbs far more than all others combined.³ Another surprising element is that the majority of quotations from Proverbs in Clement occur primarily in the *Pedagogue* and the first three books of the *Stromateis*.⁴ This starts to build

1 J. Allenbach et al. (eds.), *Biblia Patristica: Index des citations et allusions bibliques dans la littérature patristique*, 7 vols. (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1975).

2 BiPa vol. 3.

3 BiPa vol. 1 (Proverbs): 334 total; 212 Clement (63.5 %); 122 all others combined (36.5 %); of the 212 only 18 occur in *Strom.* IV onwards (8.5 %); of the these 18 passages 7 have been quoted through or in response to other authors. These percentages are purely based on the numbers in BiPa and taken at face value. There is a slight discrepancy between the numbers in BiPa (212) and my own numbers below (198), since some references in BiPa were inaccurate or non-existent; in other cases I combined verses when they occurred in Clement as one unit. A similar discrepancy occurs in my counting of Clementine passages in the sequence of Proverbs (200); some verses had to be separated according to their division in Proverbs itself. These discrepancies, however, do not alter the general outlook. For a graphic presentation of these numbers and percentages, see Appendix v below.

4 Proverbs in sequence of Clement (my counting—Appendix 1): *Protr.* (5); *Paed.* I (8); *Paed.* II (17); *Paed.* III (25); *Strom.* I (50); *Strom.* II (55); *Strom.* III (15); *Strom.* IV (6); *Strom.* V (5); *Strom.* VI (5); *Strom.* VII (4); *Ecl.* (1); *Exc.* (1); *Fr.* (1).

up in the *Pedagogue*, followed by a great accumulation in *Stromateis* I and II; then there is a gradual decline in *Stromateis* III with more sporadic occasions thereafter. The instances in the later *Stromateis*, moreover, are insignificant, because they are transmitted either through quotations of other authors, such as *Barnabas* and *1 Clement*, or through reused material.

André Méhat has called attention to the dominance of the books of wisdom in the *Pedagogue* and early *Stromateis*.⁵ He noticed this phenomenon not only for the book of Proverbs but also for the Wisdom of Sirach. In using the latter Clement follows a pattern similar to his borrowings from Proverbs. He again makes heavier use of Sirach than do other contemporary writers,⁶ but, strangely enough, the Sirach quotations do not move along the same lines as Proverbs but in the reverse direction.⁷ Clement's interest in Proverbs takes over in the third book of the *Pedagogue*, while Sirach tapers off at that point. Proverbs continues strongly from the third book of the *Pedagogue* into the first two books of the *Stromateis*. This progressive interest in Proverbs was one of the considerations that led André Méhat to develop a chronology for the works of Clement. He argued that chronologically the first book of the *Stromateis* had to follow closely on the *Pedagogue*.

In this study we are not interested in the chronology *per se* but rather in the way in which Clement makes use of the book of Proverbs and what may have inspired his selections. Other questions may come up, such as his technique of selection, the particular order of his choices, single or multiple uses of the same passage, the literality of quotations compared to the LXX, and possible trends in the choice of his subject matter.

Approaching the subject is a little daunting, because the book of Proverbs is an occasionally obscure compilation of heterogeneous maxims and portentous sentences on wisdom and virtue. Clement is not easy to capture either. Henry Chadwick characterized the *Stromateis* not too unfairly as

5 André Méhat, *Étude sur les 'Stromates' de Clément d'Alexandrie* (Patristica Sorbonensia 7; Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1966), 52–4.

6 BiPa vol. 1 (Sirach): 112 total; 76 Clement (68 %); 36 all others combined (32 %); of the 76 and after *Strom.* II only 5 references in the later books: *Strom.* V (4) and *Strom.* VII (1).

7 BiPa vol. 1 (Sirach): *Protr.* (0); *Paed.* I (15); *Paed.* II (35); *Paed.* III (10); *Strom.* I (4); *Strom.* II (6); *Strom.* III (0); *Strom.* IV (0); *Strom.* V (4); *Strom.* VI (0); *Strom.* VII (1); *Ecl.* (0); *Exc.* (0); *Fr.* (1). The numbers in BiPa differ from those of Méhat, particularly, in *Paed.* II, in which he counts 20 occurrences; Méhat probably took units together (as I did for Proverbs), which may explain the difference. See also Appendix V below.

unsystematic and surprisingly inconsequential notes on a large variety of themes. (At times it seems that Clement is almost anxious that nothing should be too clear).⁸

Thus Proverbs and Clement seem to make a perfect match in that respect.

2 Selections

A glance at the material (Appendices I and II) shows that Clement refers to most of the chapters of Proverbs with the exception of chapters 18 and 25. References to most chapters are in the single digits, but chapters 1 through 3 and 8 through 11 have a higher frequency; together they count for half of the almost 200 occurrences.⁹ The literality of the quotations varies, but in most cases Clement has enough words in common with Proverbs to qualify and also to be included in *Biblia Patristica*. Clement often selects just parts of a sentence and connects them to other sentences from Proverbs or from another book altogether. He often links these selections to quotations from the Psalms or from Sirach.¹⁰

Clement uses various phrases and names to identify his source. In addition to simple formulas, such as “Scripture says,” “it says,” or “as is written” there are other options. Some of them are connected with Solomon, such as “Solomon says” or “through Solomon.” In these cases also “the Lord,” “the Pedagogue,” “the Spirit,” or “the holy Word” can speak “through Solomon.” At other times Clement refers to “Wisdom” or “the Prophet” as his introduction for the quotation. On one occasion he mentions “Proverbs” as a title, and at another time refers to the “divine oracles.”¹¹

The very beginning of Proverbs is especially important for Clement and sets the tone:

8 Henry Chadwick, *Early Christian Thought and the Classical Tradition. Studies in Justin, Clement, and Origen* (New York: OUP, 1966).

9 See also the last chart in Appendix V below.

10 This brings up the question of the original division of Proverbs, which according to Bernd Schippers is made according to “the seven headings” (I: 1; 10:1; 22:17; 24:23, 25:1; 30:1, 31:1): Seven chapters: (I) 1–9, (II) 10:1–22:16, (III) 22:17–24:22, (IV) 24:23–34, (V) 25–29, (VI) 30, (VII) 31” (personal communication per e-mail). It is also interesting to see how Clement links Proverbs to Greek anthological themes, such as on drinking, on women, etc.; in one instance Clement made a connection with a quotation of Heraclitus.

11 For a listing, see Appendix III. For the Greek text of the passages translated in this article, see Appendix IV.

To learn wisdom (σοφία) and discipline (παιδεία) and to understand (νοέω) words of prudence (φρόνησις), and to grasp subtleties (στροφή) of words and to understand (νοέω) true righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) and to direct judgment (κρίμα) in order that he might give shrewdness (πανουργία) to the innocent (ἄκακος) and both perception (αἴσθησις) and insight (ἐννοία) to the young child, for by hearing these things the wise (σοφός) will be wiser (σοφώτερος) and the discerning (ὁ νοήμων) will acquire direction (κυβέρνησις), and he will understand (νοέω) an illustration (παραβολή) and an obscure word (σκοτεινός λόγος), both the sayings and the riddles (αἰνίγμα) of the wise (σοφός) (Prov 1:2–6).

The passage continues:

Beginning of wisdom (σοφία) is the fear of God (φόβος θεοῦ) and understanding (σύνεσις) is good for all those who practice it, and piety (εὐσέβεια) unto God is the beginning of perception (αἴσθησις); the impious, however, will despise wisdom (σοφία) and discipline (παιδεία) (Prov 1:7).

This last verse has particular strength, since the first two lines also occur in a Psalm text, which reads: *Beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord, and understanding is good for all those who practice it* (Ps 110:10). Clement can quote both versions “of God” and “of the Lord” indiscriminately.¹²

Clement would not be true to his nature if he just quoted these verses at face value and made no alterations. In a moment we will see some passage where he demonstrates this characteristic approach, weaving his borrowings from Proverbs into his own argument and tweaking words left and right as he goes along. However, he can also be surprisingly literal in his quotations, as, for example, in *Strom.* VI 15, 130, 1–2, where he repeats a full chunk of the passage from the beginning of Proverbs that we just read. He had used the same passage earlier in the second book of the *Stromateis* (*Strom.* II 2, 7, 1–2) in a similar

12 *Paed.* I 9, 77, 1; *Strom.* II 7, 33, 2.4; 35, 5; 8, 36, 1; 37, 2.6; 38, 2; VII 12, 70, 1. In this context Bernd Schippers writes that “the so-called ‘motto of the book of Proverbs’ in 1:7 stands in a double context: The phrase is, on the one hand, close to Prov 9:10a (first half verse) and, on the other hand, close to Psalm 111:10a. Remarkably, only 111:10a and Prov 9:10a have the keyword *Hockmah* (wisdom) whereas Prov 1:7 has *Daat* (knowledge). Interestingly, the word for ‘beginning’ (*Reschit*) is the same in Psalm 111:10 and Prov 1:7 (and different in 9:10, *tehilat*). In short, it is hard to decide whether the two Proverbs verses were written against the backdrop of Psalm 111:10” (personal communication via e-mail).

fashion, but the context in *Strom.* VI 15, 130, 1–2 is very congenial since it deals with the question of the obscurity of the Scriptures and the use of parables. Clement considers these obscure locutions part of a literary genre preferred by Christ. He argues that the modes of prophetic expression are through proverbs, parables, and enigmatic sayings. He also states that in his further work he will present all the tropes mentioned by the prophet (i.e. Proverbs), and that he will show to the best of his ability the gnostic way of life according to the rule of truth. By quoting this extended passage from the beginning of Proverbs twice, Clement shows clearly that the approach and the terminology of Proverbs are fundamental for him and suitable for his own enterprise.

Clement's selections show interesting patterns. Looking at the *Pedagogue*, a distinction should be made between the first and the subsequent volumes of that work. In book one Clement makes his selection primarily around the notion of *paideia*—*paideia* being also an important concept in Proverbs.¹³ Clement stresses the idea that both admonition and correction can have a positive meaning. He argues that the Logos instructs by the intermediary of law and prophets and that the fear of God works as a source of salvation—the key sentence here is again the phrase from Proverbs: *Beginning of wisdom is fear of God*. He maintains that God's severity does not exclude his goodness—an apparent anti-gnostic theme; the same God by the same word restrains from sin by threatening and saves humans by exhorting. Through the words of Solomon (i.e. Proverbs) he counsels what is salutary and admonishes children to stay on guard and not be led astray.

The general tendency of the following books (*Paed.* II and III) is less speculative and more practical, and this changed orientation has the effect of gearing the quotations from Proverbs towards practical matters. With the help of Proverbs Clement garnishes his prose lavishly with moral advice. Whether he deals with eating and drinking habits, the use of obscene language, the application of perfumes and crowns, or gives advice on matters of sleep and sexual behavior, Clement is able to find a trove of applicable lines in his venerable source for the moral betterment of his audience.

Below are some examples of quotations from Proverbs employed by Clement: on frivolous talk he quotes “*by loquaciousness you will not escape sin . . .*” (*Paed.* II 6, 52, 4). However, he does not end the phrase with *but restraining your lips you will be intelligent*, as in Proverbs (Prov 10:19) but with a similar quote from Sirach (Sir 20:5), *for the one who remains silent is found wise*. On eating Clement alludes to the phrase from Proverbs (Prov 15:17) *better is*

13 *παιδεία* occurs 26 times and *παιδεύω* 19 times.

hospitality of vegetables (or herbs) with friendliness and kindness than serving calves with hostility. In his watered down version it becomes “vegetables with love or a calf with deceit” (*Paed.* II 1, 16, 3).¹⁴

On drinking Clement has abundant material at his disposition, particularly from Prov 23:

Don't be a winebibber, nor prolong time in shared meals or in purchasing meat. For every drunkard and fornicator will become poor, and every slug-gard will be clothed in tatters and rags (Prov 23, 20).¹⁵

He follows the phrase with an allegorical interpretation of the rags of fleshly texture perforated by fondness of pleasure; then he adds more warnings from Proverbs:

It (Scripture) adds to this the most stern warnings: *Who has woes? Who has trouble? Who has strife? Who has distasteful squabbles? Who has wounds to no purpose? Who has blood-shot eyes?* You see in all his rag-gedness the lover of wine, who despises the word itself (or himself) and who allowed himself to be delivered up to drunkenness; you see all that Scripture threatened him with; and it adds again to the threat: *who has blood-shot eyes? are they not those who linger long over wine, who frequent places where drinking takes place?* Here Scripture shows the lover of drinking already as dead to the word, because of his blood-shot eyes—a sign that appears on corpses, announcing to him death in the Lord. For forgetfulness of the things that tend to true life turns the scale to destruction.¹⁶

Are they not those who linger long over wine, who frequent places where drinking takes place? He ends with a further admonition of the pedagogue but with the words of Proverbs, interlacing the quotations with his own comments:

Don't drink wine to get drunk. Wherefore? You will ask. Because he says *your mouth will speak perversely, and you will lie down in the heart of the sea or like the helmsman in a large wave.*¹⁷

14 NB ἀγάπη here.

15 *Paed.* II 2, 27, 1.

16 Prov 23:29.30 and *Paed.* II 2, 27, 4.

17 Prov 23:31.33.34 and *Paed.* II 2, 28, 1.

The excess of drunkenness is compared to the danger of the sea. Clement explains allegorically that the body is buried in the sea, and the human mind, is compared to the helmsman, who is blinded by darkness and has drifted away from the haven of truth.

A substantial part of the third book of the *Pedagogue* is concerned with women, both those to associate with and those to avoid. In *Paed.* III 11, 67, 3 Clement only quotes the beginning of a proverb, *a strong wife is a crown to her husband*, and omits the rest: *but like a worm in wood, so a mischievous wife destroys a man* (Prov 12:4). These statements on women also have a tradition in Greek literature, which Clement also draws on. He combines the words of a Greek comic writer with those of Proverbs:

In short, a strong woman is a treasury of excellence;¹⁸ she who did not eat the bread of idleness, and on whose tongue are laws of mercy; she opened her mouth wisely and lawfully, whose children rise up and blessed her, as the sacred word says through Solomon *her husband praised her; for an intelligent woman is praised, and let her praise the fear of the Lord*; and again *a strong woman is a crown to her husband*.¹⁹

Clement's own views on a good woman are clearly stated; she tends to her household affairs and makes life for her man comfortable: shaking up the couch, offering him a drink when he is thirsty, and setting food on the table (*Paed.* III 10, 49, 4)—the *Pedagogue* approves of such a woman with the words of Proverbs (Prov 31:19,20), *she who extends her arms to what is profitable and has her hands firmly on the spindle. She opens her hands to the needy and reaches her wrist to the poor* (*Paed.* III 10, 49, 5). Modesty has to be guarded in every way, and one should do no violence to nature. Ear piercing is such a violation in Clement's mind, for which he refers to Proverbs (Prov 11:22): *Like a ring in a pig's mouth so is beauty to an imprudent woman* (*Paed.* III 11, 56, 3).

As is to be expected, the expressions of approval and praise for the good and industrious woman are not as abundant as the warnings against the risks of voluptuous women and sensual pleasures. Clement cites some favorite passages from Proverbs several times in this connection; a virtuous woman should refrain from any movements or anything evoking sensual pleasure, for with the words of Proverbs: *"Honey drips from the lips of a prostitute, who, speaking to please, enriches your throat, but later you will find it more bitter than gall and sharper than a two-edged sword; for the feet of folly bring down those who have*

18 Cf. *CAF* III, p. 373, n. 5.

19 *Paed.* III 11, 67, 3.

dealings with her to Hades in the company of death" (Prov 5:3–5 and *Paed.* III 11, 68, 2; cf. *Strom.* I 5, 29, 6–7). This quotation is also used in *Strom.* I 5, 29, 6–7, almost in the same format.

Another passage from Proverbs is equally intriguing. Clement quotes it more than once and uses the whole passage, which reads as follows:²⁰

A foolish and rash woman, who knows no shame, comes in need of a morsel of food. (14.) She sat at the doors of her house, on a seat, openly in the streets, (15.) inviting those who are passing by, and who are keeping straight in their ways. (16.) "He of you who is most foolish, let him turn aside to me, and to those who are in need of prudence, I urge, saying, (17.) Touch secret bread gladly and sweet water of theft." (18.) But he does not know that the shades perish with her, and he meets up with a snare of Hades. (18a.) But run away, do not linger in the place, neither fix your eye upon her; (18b.) for so you will cross strange water and pass through a strange river. (18c.) But abstain from strange water, and do not drink from a strange well (18d.) that you may live for a long time, and years of life may be added to you (Prov 9:13–18).

In the *Pedagogue* Clement allegorizes the *strange river* as another person's wife and warns against the stream of voluptuousness. Obviously Proverbs already had used the image as a metaphor for a prostitute (a foolish and rash woman . . . sat at the doorsteps of her house, Prov 9:13–14). Interestingly Clement uses the same image of the strange woman and the strange water to describe heretical sects, from which his audience should stay away. Unexpectedly the *secret bread* and the *sweet water of theft* from Proverbs come to refer to those people, who celebrate the eucharist with plain water, and *crossing strange water* is interpreted as heretical baptism, which Clement considers foreign and improper. He employs the words of Proverbs again in the *Stromateis* in the same context fighting heretical views (*Strom.* I 19, 95, 4–96, 4). This whole exercise demonstrates that the rules of interpretation can be rather flexible for a writer who, like Clement, engages in the rhetorical process of metaphor and allegory.

3 Sequences

As can be seen in the appendices, there are instances in which the quotations from Proverbs appear in clusters. One circles around the notion of the fear

20 Prov 9:13–18, cf. *Paed.* III 2, 9, 3–4; 11, 71, 4–5; *Strom.* I 19, 95, 4–96, 4.

of God as the beginning of wisdom (*Strom.* II 7, 33–8, 40). Clement provides an argument and a justification of the idea that fear does not stand for an irrational passion and that it has a positive connotation. He clearly objects to opponents, real or imagined, who attack the law and to others who maintain that fear is an irrational condition. Clement argues instead that the law educates to Christ and that God thought it beneficial to offer a preliminary education through the law and the prophets. He states time and again that fear is a positive thing and tries to dispel the idea that fear is an emotion. Thus he explains that fear can be interpreted as fear of sin and fear of evil. Another way of interpreting fear is to identify it with the notion of awe, such as awe of the divine, arguing that the fear of a passionless God is itself without passion. Obviously this whole discussion stems from the double meaning of the Greek word φόβος itself; the word can indicate not only an emotion, caused by something dangerous or a threat, but also awe or reverence. In biblical texts this meaning is prevalent, and Clement goes to great length to explain this biblical concept to his Greek-speaking audience. Clement even offers another interpretation to spin the meaning of fear positively, namely that fear of God means fear of losing God.

At times a numerical succession appears in the clusters, both in Clement's work and in his source material. This may well indicate that Clement had a scroll of Proverbs on his desk, but it is hard to say whether it was the full text or a selection thereof. The most extensive example of such a numerical sequence is the passage in *Strom.* I 4, 27, 2–6, 35, 4; the selection also gives another example of Clement's working methods, showing how ingeniously he weaves his borrowings from Proverbs into his own argument.

The process begins with *Strom.* I 4, 27, 2–3, and the corresponding point of reference is Prov 2:3–7.

(3.) For if you call on wisdom, and raise your voice for understanding, and seek perception with a loud voice, (4.) and if you seek it (wisdom) like silver, and if you search for it like treasures, (5.) then you will understand the fear of the Lord, and you will find knowledge of God, (6.) because the Lord gives wisdom, and from his face come knowledge and understanding, and he stores up salvation for those who live a good life (Prov 2:3–7).

For if you call on thinking and intellectual perception with a loud voice, and you seek it as treasures of silver and track it out eagerly, you will understand worshipping God and you will find divine perception. The prophet spoke to make a contrast with philosophical perception; nobly and magnificently he teaches to search this out to make progress toward the worship of God.

He contrasts it (philosophical perception) with the perception (obtained) in worshipping God, alluding to knowledge and speaking as follows: *for God gives wisdom from his own mouth, along with perception and thinking, and stores up assistance for the righteous*; for help is stored up for those justified by philosophy and conscious perception leading to worshipping God.²¹

In abbreviated form Clement inserts a free quotation from Proverbs into a discussion in which he contrasts philosophical knowledge with knowledge that is based on the worship of God—θεοσέβεια. The latter term looms large in Clement's passage; he repeats it four times, both in his explanation and in his emendation of the quotation. The term θεοσέβεια, however, is absent from his source passage and is, in fact, absent from Proverbs in general. In making this distinction between philosophical knowledge and another kind of knowledge that is based on the worship of God, Clement subtly changes the terminology in his citation. The words for wisdom, understanding, knowledge and intellectual perception may just have been more or less equivalent in his source,²² but by subtly changing these words Clement reshapes them to fit his topic: that Greek philosophy is a preparation for more divine knowledge. He replaces the words φόβος κυρίου (fear for the Lord) with θεοσέβεια in this passage, probably because he had not yet explained the ramifications of the concept of φόβος. As we just saw, it is in the second book of the *Stromateis*, where he also employs many quotations from Proverbs, that he returns extensively to the concept of φόβος κυρίου. This passage shows again how Clement is able to bend his quotations at will. At the end of this passage, Clement seems to avoid the term σωτηρία (salvation) and tone it down to βοήθεια (assistance or help).

The sequence continues in *Strom.* 1 5, 28 and 29 with snippets of quotations from Prov 3, 4, and 5.

Before the coming of the Lord philosophy was necessary for the Greeks for righteousness, but now it becomes useful for worshipping God, being a kind of preparatory training for those who reap the fruits of faith through demonstration; *for your foot*, Scripture says, *will not stumble* (Prov 3:23), if you attribute what is good to providence. For God is the cause of all good things, of some, such as of the old and new testament primarily and directly, of others, such as of philosophy indirectly. Perhaps philosophy

21 *Strom.* 1 4, 27, 2–3.

22 ἐπίγνωσις θεοῦ is unusual for Proverbs—it occurs frequently in the NT and early Christian writers.

was also given directly to the Greeks before the Lord invited the Greeks in. For philosophy was to the Greek world what the law was to the Hebrews, leading (as a pedagogue) to Christ. Philosophy thus prepares beforehand, paving the way for the one who reaches perfection in Christ. Therefore Salomon says: *Surround wisdom with a stockade, and she will exalt you; she will shield you with a garland of delight* (Prov 4:8). In fact when you fortify her by means of philosophy and true riches you will keep her unassailable for sophists.²³

Clement continues to argue for Greek philosophy as preparatory training. God is the cause of all good things; of some, such as the old and new covenant, directly, of others, such as philosophy, indirectly. What philosophy is to the Greek world the law is to the Hebrews; both lead as a pedagogue to Christ. *Strom.* 1 5, 29, 1–3 reads:

Therefore one is the way of truth, but other streams flow into it from all sides, as into an ever-flowing river. Thus it has been said with inspired words: *Listen, my son, and accept my words, in order that the ways of life may become many for you* (Prov 4:10); *I teach you ways of wisdom, in order that the springs that gush out of the earth itself may not fail you* (Prov 4:11.21). Not only did he enumerate multiple ways of salvation for one righteous person but adds many others for many righteous people, indicating as follows: *The ways of the righteous shine like a light* (Prov 4:18). Well then, the precepts and the preparatory training should be considered ways and starting points of life.

Although there is only one way to the truth, various paths can lead into it. The text of Proverbs reads: *in order that the ways of life may become many for you*, but Clement interprets this as: “not only did he (i.e. the writer of the Proverbs) enumerate multiple ways of salvation for one righteous man, but he adds many other ways for many righteous people.” This is clearly a stretch of the meaning of the original text and a reinterpretation of the words of Proverbs. Clement does this to strengthen his argument that law and philosophy are legitimate venues or, as he puts it, “both the commandments and the preparatory training should be (considered) ways and starting points of life.”

Clement continues his defense of Greek *paideia* in *Strom.* 1 5, 29, 6–9 with further material from Proverbs:

23 *Strom.* 1 5, 28, 1–4.

If one forces the passage *pay no attention to a loose woman, for honey drips from the lips of a prostitute*, by saying that this means Greek culture one should hear what follows; it says *she pleases your palate for the moment* (Prov 5:3), but philosophy does not flatter. Whom does the text actually allude to as the one who prostituted herself? It adds literally: *for the feet of folly bring down those who have dealings with her to Hades in the company of death, and her steps are not firm* (Prov 5:5). *Make your way far from foolish pleasure; do not stand near the doors of her houses, in order not to give away your life to others* (Prov 5:8–9). It gives further evidence *you will have regrets in old age when the flesh of your body is consumed* (Prov 5:11). This is the end of foolish pleasure; so much for that! Whenever Scripture says *be not with a strange woman* (Prov 5:20), it admonishes us to use secular culture but not to linger and remain with it.

The introduction to these quotations starts in a rather unusual way. Remarkably he writes: “if one forces the passage (καὶν τις βιαζόμενος λέγει) . . . to refer to Greek paideia.” The passage from Prov 5:5, *pay no attention to a loose woman, for honey drips from the lips of a prostitute*, had already appeared in the *Pedagogue* as a warning against prostitution, but here it works more along allegorical lines. Apparently some interpreters had (in Clement’s opinion) misunderstood the passage and had compared Greek paideia to a prostitute—the context is clearly polemical. Clement on the contrary argues that philosophy does not flatter and that a different interpretation is needed. Going through some snippets of Proverbs (5:8.11.20) to make his case, he quotes

for the feet of folly bring down those who have dealings with her to Hades in the company of death, and her steps are not firm. Make your journey far from foolish pleasure [some minor differences: Prov ἀπ’ αὐτῆς; Cl. ἀπὸ τῆς ἄφρονος ἡδονῆς]. *Do not stand near the doors of her houses* [Prov do not come near], *in order not to give away your life to others; . . . you will have regrets in old age* [Prov ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων; at the end; Cl. ἐπὶ γήρωις], *when the flesh of your body is worn out*.²⁴

Old age, according to Clement, means “the end point of foolish pleasure.” He then cuts off with a rather abrupt and banal “so much for that” (καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ταύτη).

Following this striking quotation, which is continued in another verse from Proverbs advising not to be *for long with a strange woman*, Clement’s own

24 Strom. I 5, 29,7–8; Prov 5:8.11.20.

interpretation takes the opposite position toward Greek *paideia*. Clement advises making use of secular education but not to linger and remain with it.

Following up this polemical discourse with the opponents of Greek *paideia*, Clement pulls out more resources, namely the works of Philo, and it is interesting to see how the encyclical studies of the Hagar and Sarah story from Philo are intertwined with the words of Proverbs in these chapters.

4 Final Remarks

These passages represent only some of the many examples of Clement's use of Proverbs to reinforce some of his favorite themes: values and moral behavior, instruction (*paideia*), the fear of God and its positive connotations, and various kinds of wisdom. One lingering question is why these proverbial sayings have such prominence in the *Pedagogue* and the first books of the *Stromateis*, and why they almost disappear in the other books. The answer to this question can only be speculative. Clement's motive may have to do with the different subjects that he treats in the later books; thematic kinship can certainly have been an element responsible for the pattern. Knowing, however, how flexible Clement can be in his allegorical interpretations, it seems odd that he would discontinue his quotations from Proverbs, and those from Sirach as well, so radically.

Clement's turn away from these biblical books may also have to do with the situation in which he lived. An explanation through external conditions has been offered in connection with another important source of Clement, namely the works of Philo. David Runia has pointed out that Clement's usage of Philo is most prominent in the first five books of the *Stromateis* (particularly in *Strom.* I, II and V), but it comes to a virtual halt in books VI and VII, in which Clement quotes only the *Quaestiones in Genesim*. Runia suggests that by the time Clement wrote these last books, he no longer had access to most of the writings of Philo that had been available to him earlier in Alexandria; he apparently was left only with a copy of the *QG*. In the case of Clement's usage of the book of Proverbs, we can see that from *Strom.* IV onwards most of the quotations are reruns, cited through other sources, or references from memory. Therefore we might conclude that in the case of Proverbs, Clement either did not feel the need to further explore the riches of that book or that he no longer had the same access to a well-furnished library and its scrolls.*

* Many thanks go to Bernd Schippers, who answered my questions about the structure of the Book of Proverbs, and to John J. Herrmann, who is my second reader. I am greatly indebted to their help.

Appendix I

References to Proverbs in the sequence of Clement's works

(V = variant version of the biblical text; * = the biblical text occurs through a quoted source; P = first of a series of parallels)

Prov 8:22	<i>Protr.</i> 8, 80, 1		Prov 20:1	<i>Paed.</i> II 2, 29, 1	
Prov 2:6	<i>Protr.</i> 8, 80, 1		Prov 11:24	<i>Paed.</i> II 3, 39, 1	
Prov 6:9	<i>Protr.</i> 8, 80, 2		Prov 10:19	<i>Paed.</i> II 6, 52, 4	
Prov 6:11a	<i>Protr.</i> 8, 80, 2		Prov 14:3	<i>Paed.</i> II 7, 53, 2	
Prov 3:11	<i>Protr.</i> 9, 82, 1		Prov 10:14	<i>Paed.</i> II 7, 57, 3	
Prov 1:7	<i>Paed.</i> I 9, 77, 1	V	Prov 17:6	<i>Paed.</i> II 8, 71, 2	
Prov 3:11-12	<i>Paed.</i> I 9, 78, 4		Prov 8:34	<i>Paed.</i> II 9, 79, 4	
Prov 23:14	<i>Paed.</i> I 9, 82, 1		Prov 19:29	<i>Paed.</i> II 10, 93, 3	
Prov 23:13	<i>Paed.</i> I 9, 82, 1		Prov 19:17	<i>Paed.</i> II 12, 129, 1	
Prov 1:24-25	<i>Paed.</i> I 9, 85, 4		Prov 10:4	<i>Paed.</i> II 12, 129, 1	
Prov 8:46	<i>Paed.</i> I 10, 90, 1		Prov 3:13-15	<i>Paed.</i> II 12, 129, 2	
Prov 3:13	<i>Paed.</i> I 10, 91, 3		Prov 9:18b	<i>Paed.</i> III 2, 9, 3	V
Prov 1:10, 15, 10-12	<i>Paed.</i> I 10, 94, 3		Prov 9:18c-d	<i>Paed.</i> III 2, 9, 4	V
Prov 23:3	<i>Paed.</i> II 1, 4, 2		Prov 10:4	<i>Paed.</i> III 4, 30, 4	
Prov 13:25	<i>Paed.</i> II 1, 14, 6		Prov 8:10-11	<i>Paed.</i> III 6, 35, 3	
Prov 15:17	<i>Paed.</i> II 1, 16, 3		Prov 8:19	<i>Paed.</i> III 6, 35, 3	
Prov 23:20-21	<i>Paed.</i> II 2, 27, 1		Prov 11:24	<i>Paed.</i> III 6, 35, 5	
Prov 23:29-30	<i>Paed.</i> II 2, 27, 4		Prov 3:3	<i>Paed.</i> III 7, 37, 4	
Prov 23:31, 33-34	<i>Paed.</i> II 2, 28, 1	V	Prov 13:8	<i>Paed.</i> III 7, 39, 2	

Prov 31:19-20	<i>Paed.</i> III 10, 49, 5		Prov 2:6-7	<i>Strom.</i> I 4, 27, 3	
Prov 11:22	<i>Paed.</i> III 11, 56, 3		Prov 3:23	<i>Strom.</i> I 5, 28, 1	
Prov 31:22	<i>Paed.</i> III 11, 67, 2		Prov 4:8-9	<i>Strom.</i> I 5, 28, 4	
Prov 31:25-30	<i>Paed.</i> III 11, 67, 3		Prov 4:10-11	<i>Strom.</i> I 5, 29, 2	
Prov 12:4	<i>Paed.</i> III 11, 67, 3		Prov 4:21	<i>Strom.</i> I 5, 29, 2	
Prov 5:3-5	<i>Paed.</i> III 11, 68, 2		Prov 4:18	<i>Strom.</i> I 5, 29, 3	
Prov 5:5-6	<i>Paed.</i> III 11, 69, 3		Prov 5:2-3	<i>Strom.</i> I 5, 29, 6	V
Prov 15:30	<i>Paed.</i> III 11, 70, 2		Prov 5:5	<i>Strom.</i> I 5, 29, 7	V
Prov 10:10	<i>Paed.</i> III 11, 70, 2		Prov 5:8-9	<i>Strom.</i> I 5, 29, 7	V
Prov 9:13-17	<i>Paed.</i> III 11, 71, 4	V	Prov 5:11	<i>Strom.</i> I 5, 29, 8	
Prov 9:18.18a-b	<i>Paed.</i> III 11, 72, 1	V	Prov 5:20	<i>Strom.</i> I 5, 29, 9	
Prov 27:14	<i>Paed.</i> III 11, 82, 4		Prov 5:20	<i>Strom.</i> I 5, 31, 1	
Prov 4:25	<i>Paed.</i> III 11, 83, 1		Prov 3:11-12	<i>Strom.</i> I 5, 32, 2	
Prov 10:10	<i>Paed.</i> III 12, 86, 1		Prov 6:6	<i>Strom.</i> I 6, 33, 5	V
Prov 13:11	<i>Paed.</i> III 12, 91, 3		Prov 6:8a	<i>Strom.</i> I 6, 33, 5	V
Prov 15:1	<i>Paed.</i> III 12, 92, 3		Prov 10:12	<i>Strom.</i> I 6, 35, 4	
Prov 13:24	<i>Paed.</i> III 12, 93, 1		Prov 10:17	<i>Strom.</i> I 6, 35, 4	
Prov 2:1-2	<i>Strom.</i> I 1, 1, 3		Prov 22:20-21	<i>Strom.</i> I 9, 45, 2	
Prov 2:2	<i>Strom.</i> I 1, 2, 1	V	Prov 14:6	<i>Strom.</i> I 10, 47, 4	
Prov 3:1	<i>Strom.</i> I 1, 2, 2		Prov 10:31	<i>Strom.</i> I 10, 47, 4	
Prov 5:15	<i>Strom.</i> I 1, 10, 1		Prov 10:17	<i>Strom.</i> I 11, 54, 1	
Prov 29:3	<i>Strom.</i> I 1, 12, 1		Prov 29:15	<i>Strom.</i> I 11, 54, 1	
Prov 9:9	<i>Strom.</i> I 1, 14, 1		Prov 27:21a	<i>Strom.</i> I 11, 54, 1	V
Prov 2:3-5	<i>Strom.</i> I 4, 27, 2		Prov 16:8	<i>Strom.</i> I 11, 54, 1	V

Prov 24:7-8	<i>Strom.</i> I 12, 56, 1	V	Prov 1:2-6	<i>Strom.</i> II 2, 7, 1-2	
Prov 8:9-11	<i>Strom.</i> I 13, 58, 3-4		Prov 5:16	<i>Strom.</i> II 2, 8, 1	
Prov 9:3	<i>Strom.</i> I 17, 81, 3	V	Prov 17:6a	<i>Strom.</i> II 5, 22, 3	V
Prov 11:21	<i>Strom.</i> I 19, 95, 1		Prov 1:7	<i>Strom.</i> II 7, 33, 2.4	
Prov 11:24	<i>Strom.</i> I 19, 95, 1		Prov 1:17-18	<i>Strom.</i> II 7, 34, 3	
Prov 27:25-26	<i>Strom.</i> I 19, 95, 1		Prov 10:4a-5,8	<i>Strom.</i> II 7, 35, 4	V
Prov 27:23	<i>Strom.</i> I 19, 95, 2		Prov 1:7	<i>Strom.</i> II 7, 35, 5	
Prov 27:10	<i>Strom.</i> I 19, 95, 4	V	Prov 1:7	<i>Strom.</i> II 8, 36, 1	*
Prov 9:12a:b:c	<i>Strom.</i> I 19, 95, 4.6-7	V	Prov 1:7	<i>Strom.</i> II 8, 37, 2	
Prov 9:16-17	<i>Strom.</i> I 19, 96, 1	V	Prov 1:7	<i>Strom.</i> II 8, 37, 6	
Prov 9:18a-b	<i>Strom.</i> I 19, 96, 2.3.4		Prov 1:7	<i>Strom.</i> II 8, 38, 2	*
Prov 21:11	<i>Strom.</i> I 20, 100, 3		Prov 1:33	<i>Strom.</i> II 8, 39, 1	
Prov 22:3-4	<i>Strom.</i> I 27, 172, 3	V	Prov 7:1	<i>Strom.</i> II 8, 39, 5	V
Prov 9:10	<i>Strom.</i> I 27, 173, 4	V	Prov 14:16	<i>Strom.</i> II 8, 40, 3	
Prov 28:5	<i>Strom.</i> I 27, 173, 4	V	Prov 14:26	<i>Strom.</i> II 8, 40, 3	
Prov 3:13	<i>Strom.</i> I 27, 174, 2	V	Prov 11:14	<i>Strom.</i> II 11, 51, 6	
Prov 3:16a	<i>Strom.</i> I 27, 174, 2	V	Prov 10:21	<i>Strom.</i> II 11, 52, 7	
Prov 3:3	<i>Strom.</i> I 27, 174, 3		Prov 3:2; 3:16; 10:27	<i>Strom.</i> II 12, 53, 2	
Prov 6:23	<i>Strom.</i> I 29, 181, 3		Prov 11:5	<i>Strom.</i> II 13, 59, 1	V
Prov 10:10	<i>Strom.</i> II 1, 2, 4		Prov 11:13	<i>Strom.</i> II 14, 61, 2	
Prov 3:5-6	<i>Strom.</i> II 2, 4, 1		Prov 6:1-2	<i>Strom.</i> II 15, 70, 4	
Prov 3:6	<i>Strom.</i> II 2, 4, 2		Prov 15:27a	<i>Strom.</i> II 15, 71, 4	
Prov 3:7	<i>Strom.</i> II 2, 4, 3-4		Prov 15:33	<i>Strom.</i> II 15, 71, 4	
Prov 3:12	<i>Strom.</i> II 2, 4, 4		Prov 5:22	<i>Strom.</i> II 16, 75, 3	V

Prov 28:14	<i>Strom.</i> II 16, 75, 3		Prov 2:21–22	<i>Strom.</i> II 19, 102, 3	
Prov 27:21a	<i>Strom.</i> II 17, 77, 6		Prov 1:33	<i>Strom.</i> II 22, 136, 3–4	
Prov 30:3	<i>Strom.</i> II 17, 77, 6	V	Prov 3:34	<i>Strom.</i> III 6, 49, 2	V
Prov 15:8	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 78, 4		(= Jas 4:6; 1 Pet 5:5)		
Prov 16:7	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 78, 4	V	Prov 19:17	<i>Strom.</i> III 6, 54, 4	
Prov 11:1	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 79, 2	V	Prov 3:7	<i>Strom.</i> III 6, 54, 4	
Prov 10:31	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 79, 3		Prov 3:3	<i>Strom.</i> III 6, 55, 1	
Prov 16:21	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 79, 3		Prov 10:4	<i>Strom.</i> III 6, 55, 1	
Prov 11:7	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 83, 2		Prov 11:24	<i>Strom.</i> III 6, 56, 1	
Prov 8:17; cf. Prov 16:8	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 83, 2		Prov 13:8	<i>Strom.</i> III 6, 55, 1	
Prov 9:10; 10a	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 84, 1		Prov 13:11	<i>Strom.</i> III 6, 56, 1	
Prov 19:23	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 84, 2		Prov 11:24	<i>Strom.</i> III 6, 56, 1	
Prov 20:28	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 86, 7		Prov 11:24	<i>Strom.</i> III 6, 56, 2	
Prov 11:26	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 86, 7		Prov 13:12	<i>Strom.</i> III 17, 103, 4	
Prov 14:21	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 86, 7		Prov 1:14	<i>Strom.</i> III 18, 105, 2	
Prov 14:27	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 88, 1		Prov 1:15	<i>Strom.</i> III 18, 106, 1	
Prov 17:3	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 91, 4		Prov 1:17–18	<i>Strom.</i> III 18, 106, 1	
Prov 19:11	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 91, 5		Prov 1:18–19	<i>Strom.</i> III 18, 107, 1	
Prov 14:23	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 91, 5	V	Prov 6:6	<i>Strom.</i> IV 3, 9, 2	V
Prov 17:12	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 91, 5		Prov 6:8	<i>Strom.</i> IV 3, 9, 2	V
Prov 16:8	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 91, 5	V	Prov 3:34	<i>Strom.</i> IV 17, 106, 4	*
Prov 28:5–4	<i>Strom.</i> II 19, 101, 2		Prov 20:27	<i>Strom.</i> IV 17, 107, 5	*
Prov 14:8	<i>Strom.</i> II 19, 101, 2		Prov 1:33	<i>Strom.</i> IV 23, 149, 8	
Prov 21:26	<i>Strom.</i> II 19, 102, 3		Prov 3:5	<i>Strom.</i> IV 23, 149, 8	

Prov 10:14	<i>Strom.</i> V 3, 18, 3	Prov 8:22–23 (cf.)	<i>Strom.</i> VI 16, 138, 4	P
Prov 26:5	<i>Strom.</i> V 3, 18, 5	Prov 8:22–31 (cf.)	<i>Strom.</i> VII 2, 7, 4	
Prov 1:6	<i>Strom.</i> V 10, 63, 6	Prov 8:30	<i>Strom.</i> VII 2, 7, 4	*
Prov 30:2–3	<i>Strom.</i> V 11, 72, 1	Prov 20:27	<i>Strom.</i> VII 7, 37, 6	
Prov 3:18	<i>Strom.</i> V 11, 72, 4	Prov 1:7= Ps 110:10	<i>Strom.</i> VII 12, 70, 1	P
Prov 10:20	<i>Strom.</i> VI 7, 60, 1	Prov 13:24	<i>Ecl.</i> 9, 2	
Prov 1:6	<i>Strom.</i> VI 8, 65, 2	Prov 9:1	<i>Exc.</i> 47, 1	*
Prov 8:9	<i>Strom.</i> VI 15, 125, 2	Prov 21:8	<i>Fr.</i> 227, 12	
Prov 1:1–6	<i>Strom.</i> VI 15, 130, 1			

Appendix II

References to Proverbs in the sequence of the Book of Proverbs

(an open space after the passage from Proverbs indicates that it occurs in other contemporary authors not specified here; for details see *Biblia Patristica*)

Prov 1:2-6	<i>Strom.</i> II 2, 7, 1-2				<i>Strom.</i> III 18, 107, 1
Prov 1:2-6	<i>Strom.</i> VI 15, 130, 1			Prov 1:18-19	
Prov 1:6	<i>Strom.</i> V 10, 63, 6	*		Prov 1:20-21	
Prov 1:6	<i>Strom.</i> VI 8, 65, 2	*		Prov 1:20	
Prov 1:7	<i>Paed.</i> I 9, 77, 1	V		Prov 1:23-33	
Prov 1:7	<i>Strom.</i> II 7, 33, 2.4			Prov 1:24-25	<i>Paed.</i> I 9, 85, 4
Prov 1:7	<i>Strom.</i> II 7, 35, 5			Prov 1:33	<i>Strom.</i> II 8, 39, 1
Prov 1:7	<i>Strom.</i> II 8, 36, 1	*		Prov 1:33	<i>Strom.</i> II 22, 136, 3-4
Prov 1:7	<i>Strom.</i> II 8, 37, 2			Prov 1:33	<i>Strom.</i> IV 23, 149, 8
Prov 1:7	<i>Strom.</i> II 8, 37, 6			Prov 2:1-2	<i>Strom.</i> I 1, 1, 3
Prov 1:7	<i>Strom.</i> II 8, 38, 2	*		Prov 2:2	<i>Strom.</i> I 1, 2, 1
Prov 1:7= Ps 110:10	<i>Strom.</i> VII 11, 70, 1	P		Prov 2:3-5	<i>Strom.</i> I 4, 27, 2
Prov 1:10-12	<i>Paed.</i> I 10, 94, 3			Prov 2:6-7	<i>Strom.</i> I 4, 27, 3
Prov 1:14	<i>Strom.</i> III 18, 105, 2			Prov 2:6	<i>Protr.</i> 8, 80, 1
Prov 1:15	<i>Paed.</i> I 10, 94, 3			Prov 2:21-22	<i>Strom.</i> II 19, 102, 3
Prov 1:15	<i>Strom.</i> III 18, 106, 1			Prov 3:1	<i>Strom.</i> I 1, 2, 2
Prov 1:17-18	<i>Strom.</i> II 7, 34, 3			Prov 3:2	<i>Strom.</i> II 12, 53, 2
Prov 1:17-18	<i>Strom.</i> III 18, 106, 1			Prov 3:3	<i>Paed.</i> III 7, 37, 4
				Prov 3:3	<i>Strom.</i> I 27, 174, 3

V

Prov 3:3	<i>Strom.</i> III 6, 55, 1	Prov 4:10–11	<i>Strom.</i> I 5, 29, 2	
Prov 3:4		Prov 4:18	<i>Strom.</i> I 5, 29, 3	
Prov 3:5–6	<i>Strom.</i> II 2, 4, 1	Prov 4:21	<i>Strom.</i> I 5, 29, 2	
Prov 3:5	<i>Strom.</i> IV 23, 149, 8	Prov 4:25	<i>Paed.</i> III 11, 83, 1	
Prov 3:6	<i>Strom.</i> II 2, 4, 2	Prov 5:2–3	<i>Strom.</i> I 5, 29, 6	V
Prov 3:7	<i>Strom.</i> II 2, 4, 3–4	Prov 5:3–5	<i>Paed.</i> III 11, 68, 2	
Prov 3:8		Prov 5:5–6	<i>Paed.</i> III 11, 69, 3	
Prov 3:11–12	<i>Paed.</i> I 9, 78, 4	Prov 5:5	<i>Strom.</i> I 5, 29, 7	V
Prov 3:11–12	<i>Strom.</i> I 5, 32, 2	Prov 5:8–9	<i>Strom.</i> I 5, 29, 7	V
Prov 3:11	<i>Protr.</i> 9, 82, 1	Prov 5:11	<i>Strom.</i> I 5, 29, 8	
Prov 3:12	<i>Strom.</i> II 2, 4, 4	Prov 5:15	<i>Strom.</i> I 1, 10, 1	
Prov 3:13–15	<i>Paed.</i> II 12, 129, 2	Prov 5:16	<i>Strom.</i> II 2, 8, 1	
Prov 3:13	<i>Paed.</i> I 10, 91, 3	Prov 5:20	<i>Strom.</i> I 5, 29, 9	
Prov 3:13	<i>Strom.</i> I 27, 174, 2	Prov 5:20	<i>Strom.</i> I 5, 31, 1	V
Prov 3:16	<i>Strom.</i> II 12, 53, 2	Prov 5:22	<i>Strom.</i> II 16, 75, 3	
Prov 3:16a	<i>Strom.</i> I 27, 174, 2	Prov 6:1–2	<i>Strom.</i> II 15, 70, 4	
Prov 3:18	<i>Strom.</i> V 11, 72, 4	Prov 6:6	<i>Strom.</i> I 6, 33, 5	V
Prov 3:19–20		Prov 6:6	<i>Strom.</i> IV 3, 9, 2	V
Prov 3:23	<i>Strom.</i> I 5, 28, 1	Prov 6:8a	<i>Strom.</i> I 6, 33, 5	
Prov 3:27	<i>Strom.</i> III 6, 54, 4	Prov 6:8	<i>Strom.</i> IV 3, 9, 2	V
Prov 3:28		Prov 6:9	<i>Protr.</i> 8, 80, 2	
Prov 3:34	<i>Strom.</i> III 6, 49, 2	Prov 6:11a	<i>Protr.</i> 8, 80, 2	
Prov 3:34	<i>Strom.</i> IV 17, 106, 4	Prov 6:23	<i>Strom.</i> I 29, 181, 3	
Prov 4:8–9	<i>Strom.</i> I 5, 28, 4	Prov 6:27–29		

Prov 6:32-34			Prov 8:24	
Prov 7:1		<i>Strom.</i> II 8, 39, 5	Prov 8:25	V
Prov 7:3			Prov 8:27-31	
Prov 7:4			Prov 8:27-30	
Prov 8:1			Prov 8:27-29	
Prov 8:2			Prov 8:27-28	
Prov 8:4.6		<i>Paed.</i> I 10, 90, 1	Prov 8:27	
Prov 8:4			Prov 8:28	
Prov 8:9-11		<i>Strom.</i> I 13, 58, 3	Prov 8:29	
Prov 8:9		<i>Strom.</i> VI 15, 125, 2	Prov 8:30-31	
Prov 8:10-11		<i>Paed.</i> III 6, 35, 3	Prov 8:30	<i>Strom.</i> VII 2, 7, 4
Prov 8:12			Prov 8:31	
Prov 8:15-16			Prov 8:32-33	
Prov 8:17		<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 83, 2	Prov 8:34	<i>Paed.</i> II 9, 79, 4
Prov 8:19		<i>Paed.</i> III 6, 35, 3	Prov 9:1	<i>Exc.</i> 47, 1
Prov 8:21-25			Prov 9:2	
Prov 8:21			Prov 9:3	V
Prov 8:22-36			Prov 9:9	
Prov 8:22-31 (cf.)		<i>Strom.</i> VII 2, 7, 4	Prov 9:10	<i>Strom.</i> I 27, 173, 4
Prov 8:22-25			Prov 9:10	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 84, 1
Prov 8:22-23			Prov 9:12a:b:c	<i>Strom.</i> I 19, 95, 4.6-7
Prov 8:22-23 (cf.)		<i>Strom.</i> VI 16, 138, 4	Prov 9:13-17	<i>Paed.</i> III 11, 71, 4
Prov 8:22		<i>Protr.</i> 8, 80, 1	Prov 9:18.18a-b	<i>Paed.</i> III 11, 72, 1
Prov 8:23			Prov 9:16-17	<i>Strom.</i> I 19, 96, 1

Prov 9:18b	<i>Paed.</i> III 2, 9, 3	V	Prov 11:1	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 79, 2	V
Prov 9:18c-d	<i>Paed.</i> III 2, 9, 4	V	Prov 11:5	<i>Strom.</i> II 13, 59, 1	
Prov 9:18a-b	<i>Strom.</i> I 19, 96, 2, 3, 4		Prov 11:7	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 83, 2	
Prov 10:1			Prov 11:13	<i>Strom.</i> II 14, 61, 2	
Prov 10:4a-5	<i>Strom.</i> II 7, 35, 4	V	Prov 11:14	<i>Strom.</i> II 11, 51, 6	
Prov 10:4	<i>Paed.</i> II 12, 129, 1		Prov 11:21	<i>Strom.</i> I 19, 95, 1	
Prov 10:4	<i>Paed.</i> III 4, 30, 4		Prov 11:22	<i>Paed.</i> III 11, 56, 3	
Prov 10:4	<i>Strom.</i> III 6, 55, 1		Prov 11:24	<i>Paed.</i> II 3, 39, 1	
Prov 10:8	<i>Strom.</i> II 7, 35, 4	V	Prov 11:24	<i>Paed.</i> III 6, 35, 5	
Prov 10:10	<i>Paed.</i> III 11, 70, 2		Prov 11:24	<i>Strom.</i> I 19, 95, 1	
Prov 10:10	<i>Paed.</i> III 12, 86, 1		Prov 11:24	<i>Strom.</i> III 6, 56, 1	V
Prov 10:10	<i>Strom.</i> II 1, 2, 4		Prov 11:24	<i>Strom.</i> III 6, 56, 2	
Prov 10:12	<i>Strom.</i> I 6, 35, 4		Prov 11:26	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 86, 7	
Prov 10:14	<i>Paed.</i> II 11, 57, 3		Prov 11:28		
Prov 10:14	<i>Strom.</i> V 3, 18, 3		Prov 11:31	<i>Paed.</i> III 11, 67, 3	
Prov 10:17	<i>Strom.</i> I 6, 35, 4		Prov 12:4	<i>Paed.</i> III 7, 39, 2	
Prov 10:17	<i>Strom.</i> I 11, 54, 1		Prov 13:8	<i>Strom.</i> III 6, 55, 1	
Prov 10:19	<i>Paed.</i> II 6, 52, 4		Prov 13:8	<i>Paed.</i> III 12, 91, 3	
Prov 10:19			Prov 13:11	<i>Strom.</i> III 6, 56, 1	
Prov 10:20	<i>Strom.</i> VI 7, 60, 1		Prov 13:11	<i>Strom.</i> III 103, 4	
Prov 10:21	<i>Strom.</i> II 11, 52, 7		Prov 13:12	<i>Ecl.</i> 9, 2	
Prov 10:27	<i>Strom.</i> II 12, 53, 2		Prov 13:24	<i>Paed.</i> III 12, 93, 1	
Prov 10:31	<i>Strom.</i> I 10, 47, 4		Prov 13:24	<i>Paed.</i> II 1, 14, 6	
Prov 10:31	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 79, 3		Prov 13:25		

Prov 14:3	<i>Paed.</i> II 7, 53, 2		Prov 17:23	
Prov 14:6	<i>Strom.</i> I 10, 47, 4		Prov 18:17	
Prov 14:8	<i>Strom.</i> II 19, 101, 2		Prov 19:11	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 91, 5
Prov 14:16	<i>Strom.</i> II 8, 40, 3		Prov 19:17	<i>Paed.</i> II 12, 129, 1
Prov 14:21	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 86, 7		Prov 19:17	<i>Strom.</i> III 6, 54, 4
Prov 14:23	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 91, 5	V	Prov 19:23	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 84, 2
Prov 14:26	<i>Strom.</i> II 8, 40, 3		Prov 19:29	<i>Paed.</i> II 10, 93, 3
Prov 14:27	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 88, 1		Prov 20:1	<i>Paed.</i> II 2, 29, 1
Prov 15:1	<i>Paed.</i> III 12, 92, 3		Prov 20:27	<i>Strom.</i> IV 17, 107, 5
Prov 15:8	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 78, 4		Prov 20:27	<i>Strom.</i> VII 7, 37, 6
Prov 15:17	<i>Paed.</i> II 1, 16, 3		Prov 20:28	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 86, 7
Prov 15:20			Prov 21:1	
Prov 15:27a	<i>Strom.</i> II 15, 71, 4		Prov 21:3	
Prov 15:30	<i>Paed.</i> III 11, 70, 2		Prov 21:6	
Prov 15:33	<i>Strom.</i> II 15, 71, 4		Prov 21:8	
Prov 16:7	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 78, 4	V	Prov 21:11	Fr. 227, 12
Prov 16:8	<i>Strom.</i> I 11, 54, 1		Prov 21:11	<i>Strom.</i> I 20, 100, 3
Prov 16:8	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 83, 2	V	Prov 21:26	<i>Strom.</i> II 19, 102, 3
Prov 16:8	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 91, 5	V	Prov 22:3-4	<i>Strom.</i> I 27, 172, 3
Prov 16:21	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 79, 3		Prov 22:20-21	<i>Strom.</i> I 9, 45, 2
Prov 17:3	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 91, 4		Prov 22:20	
Prov 17:6	<i>Paed.</i> II 8, 71, 2		Prov 23:3	<i>Paed.</i> II 1, 4, 2
Prov 17:6a	<i>Strom.</i> II 5, 22, 3	V	Prov 23:13	<i>Paed.</i> I 9, 82, 1
Prov 17:12	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 91, 5		Prov 23:14	<i>Paed.</i> I 9, 82, 1
			Prov 23:20-21	<i>Paed.</i> II 2, 27, 1

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V

Prov 23:29-30	<i>Paed.</i> II 2, 27, 4		Prov 27:25-26	<i>Strom.</i> I 19, 95, 1
Prov 23:31.33-34	<i>Paed.</i> II 2, 28, 1	V	Prov 28:5-4	<i>Strom.</i> II 19, 101, 2
Prov 24:7-8	<i>Strom.</i> I 12, 56, 1	V	Prov 28:5	<i>Strom.</i> I 27, 173, 4
Prov 24:17			Prov 28:14	<i>Strom.</i> II 16, 75, 3
Prov 24:21-22			Prov 29:3	<i>Strom.</i> I 1, 12, 1
Prov 26:5	<i>Strom.</i> V 3, 18, 5		Prov 29:15	<i>Strom.</i> I 11, 54, 1
Prov 26:11			Prov 30:2-3	<i>Strom.</i> V 11, 72, 1
Prov 27:10	<i>Strom.</i> I 19, 95, 4	V	Prov 30:3	<i>Strom.</i> II 17, 77, 6
Prov 27:14	<i>Paed.</i> III 11, 82, 4		Prov 31:9	
Prov 27:21a	<i>Strom.</i> I 11, 54, 1	V	Prov 31:19-20	<i>Paed.</i> III 10, 49, 5
Prov 27:21a	<i>Strom.</i> II 17, 77, 6	V	Prov 31:22	<i>Paed.</i> III 11, 67, 2
Prov 27:23	<i>Strom.</i> I 19, 95, 2		Prov 31:25-30	<i>Paed.</i> III 11, 67, 3

Appendix III

Clement's introductory phrases for his quotations from Proverbs

- Paed.* I 9, 78, 4: διὰ Σολομώντος
Paed. I 9, 82, 1: αὕτη τοι καὶ διὰ Σολομώντος
 παραγγέλλεται
Paed. I 9, 85, 4: λέγει κύριος
Paed. I 10, 90, 1: προτροπὴ ὁ παιδαγωγὸς
 διὰ Σολομώντος ᾧ δὲ πως χρήται
Paed. I 10, 91, 3: καλεῖ διὰ Σολομώντος
 λέγων
Paed. I 10, 94, 3: Διὰ τοῦτο φυλάττεσθαι
 τοῖς νηπίοις διὰ Σολομώντος παραγγέλλει
Paed. II 1, 4, 2: φησὶν ἡ γραφή
Paed. II 1, 14, 6: φησὶν
Paed. II 2, 27, 1: ἡ θεία σοφία ὑφορωμένη
 παραγγέλλει τοῖς αὐτῆς τέκνοις ...
Paed. II 2, 28, 1: Φησὶν ... Ταύτη
 νουθετικώτατα ἐπιφέρει ὁ παιδαγωγὸς
 ἀπαγορεύει
Paed. II 2, 29, 1: ἡ γραφή ... φησὶν
Paed. II 6, 52, 4: φησὶν
Paed. II 7, 53, 2: φησὶν ἡ γραφή
Paed. II 8, 71, 2: φησὶν
Paed. II 9, 79, 4: φησὶν ἡ σοφία
Paed. II 10, 93, 3: λέγει δὲ ἡ γραφή
Paed. II 12, 129, 2: διὰ Σολομώντος τὸ
 πνεῦμα <λέγει>
Paed. III 2, 9, 3: ὁ θεὸς παραινεῖ
 παιδαγωγὸς
Paed. III 11, 71, 4: διὰ Σολομώντος λέγει
Paed. III 4, 30, 3-4: φησὶν
Paed. III 6, 35, 3: φησί
Paed. III 7, 37, 4: φησὶν ἡ γραφή
Paed. III 7, 39, 2: ὁμολογεῖ γὰρ ἡ γραφή
Paed. III 11, 56, 3: "Ἰνα δὴ κάκεινο πληρωθῇ
 τὸ εἰρημένον
Paed. III 11, 67, 3: ὡς διὰ Σολομώντος λέγει
 ὁ ἅγιος λόγος
Paed. III 11, 71, 4: διὰ Σολομώντος λέγει
Paed. III 11, 82, 4: φησί
Paed. III 12, 86, 1: φησὶν ὁ παιδαγωγὸς
Paed. III 12, 92, 2: ὀργὴν δὲ ἡ σοφία
 ταλανίζει
Paed. III 12, 93, 1: φησί
Strom. I 1, 3, 1: λέγει γοῦν ὁ
 Σολομών ... φησὶν
Strom. I 1, 10, 1: ὁ Σολομών παραινεῖ
Strom. I 1, 14, 1: φησί
Strom. I 4, 27, 2: εἶρηκεν ὁ προφήτης
Strom. I 5, 28, 1: φησὶν
Strom. I 5, 28, 4: ὁ Σολομών
Strom. I 5, 29, 2: ἐνθέως οὖν ἄρα
 εἴρηται ... φησὶν
Strom. I 5, 29, 3-4: μηνύων ᾧ δὲ
 πως ... δηλοῖ τοῖνον προφητικῶς
Strom. I 5, 29, 8: καὶ ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ
Strom. I 5, 32, 2: εὖ γοῦν εἴρηται
Strom. I 6, 33, 4: διὸ καὶ φησιν
Strom. I 6, 35, 4: φησὶν ὁ Σολομών
Strom. I 9, 45, 1: φησὶν
Strom. I 13, 58, 3: ἥδε ἡ ῥῆσις
Strom. I 17, 81, 3: φησὶ γοῦν ἡ γραφή·
Strom. I 19, 95, 1: καλῶς οὖν ὁ
 Σολομών ... φησὶ (2x)
Strom. I 20, 100, 3: ἄντικρυς δὲ ἐξείπεν ἡ
 γραφή
Strom. I 27, 172, 1: αὐτίκα φησί
Strom. I 29, 181, 3: κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν
Strom. II 2, 4, 1: αἱ Παροιμίαι λέγουσιν

Strom. II 2, 4, 4: αὕτη παιδεία σοφίας

Strom. II 2, 7, 1: κατὰ τὸν Σολομῶντα

Strom. II 5, 22, 3: ὁ Σολομὼν λέγει

Strom. II 7, 34, 3: λέγουσιν οἱ χρησμοὶ οἱ θεοὶ

Strom. II 8, 40, 3: ἡ γραφή λέγει

Strom. II 13, 59, 1: κέκραγεν ἡ γραφή, καὶ πάλιν αὖ·

Strom. II 18, 83, 2: ἡ σοφία λέγει

Strom. II 18, 91, 4: τὸ λόγιον ἐκεῖνο

Strom. II 19, 101, 2: Σαφῶς τοίνυν εἴρηται

Strom. II 22, 136, 3: ἡ πανάρετος σοφία λέγει

Strom. III 6, 49, 2: λέγει δὲ αὐτοῖς ἡ γραφή·

Strom. III 6, 54, 4: οὐχὶ δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ διαθήκῃ νομοθετεῖ... φησὶν

Strom. III 17, 103, 4: φησὶν ὁ προφήτης

Strom. III 18, 106, 1: ὁ αὐτὸς προφήτης

Strom. IV 3, 9, 2: ὁ Σολομὼν λέγει

Strom. IV 17, 107, 5: λέγει γὰρ ποὺ ἡ γραφή

Strom. V 3, 18, 2: ἀκηκόασι γὰρ, οἶμαι, τῆς καλῆς ἐκείνης λεγούσης ἡμῖν σοφίας·

Strom. V 3, 18, 5: φησὶν ὁ Σολομὼν

Strom. V 10, 63, 6: λέγει γὰρ ὁ προφήτης

Strom. V 11, 72, 1: σαφέστατα δὲ ὁ Σολομὼν μαρτυρήσει ἡμῖν ὧδέ πως λέγων

Strom. V 11, 72, 4: ὅ γε Σολομὼν πάλιν φησὶν

Strom. VI 7, 60, 1: Σολομὼν λέγει

Strom. VI 8, 65, 1: λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή

Strom. VI 15, 125, 2: φησὶν ἡ γραφή

Strom. VI 15, 130, 1: φησί

Strom. VI 16, 138, 4: διὸ καὶ Σολομὼν

Strom. VII 7, 37, 6: φησιν ἡ γραφή

Strom. VII 12, 70, 1: φησί

Appendix IV

Greek passages from Proverbs and Clement used in this article

(The bold indicates comparison)

Prov 1:1–7 (1.) Παροιμίαι Σαλωμώντος υἱοῦ Δαυιδ, ὃς ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Ἰσραηλ, (2.) γινῶναι σοφίαν καὶ παιδεῖαν νοῆσαι τε λόγους φρονήσεως (3.) δέξασθαι τε στροφάς λόγων νοῆσαι τε δικαιοσύνην ἀληθὴ καὶ κρίμα κατευθύνειν, (4.) ἵνα δῶ ἀκάκοις πανουργίαν, παιδί δὲ νέῳ αἴσθησιν τε καὶ ἔννοιαν· (5.) τῶνδε γάρ ἀκούσας σοφὸς σοφώτερος ἔσται, ὁ δὲ νοήμων κυβέρνησιν κτήσεται (6.) νοῆσει τε παραβολὴν καὶ σκοτεινὸν λόγον ῥήσεις τε σοφῶν καὶ αἰνίγματα. (7.) Ἀρχὴ σοφίας φόβος θεοῦ, σύνεσις δὲ ἀγαθὴ πᾶσι τοῖς ποιοῦσιν αὐτήν· εὐσέβεια δὲ εἰς θεὸν ἀρχὴ αἰσθήσεως, σοφίαν δὲ καὶ παιδεῖαν ἀσεβεῖς ἐξουθενήσουσιν.

Cf. Ps. 110:10: ἀρχὴ σοφίας φόβος κυρίου, σύνεσις ἀγαθὴ πᾶσι τοῖς ποιοῦσιν αὐτήν. ἡ αἵνεσις αὐτοῦ μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος.

Strom. II 2, 7, 1–2: (1.) πῶς δ' οὐχὶ ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιοι οἱ τε μαθεῖν ἐθέλοντες οἱ τε δυνάμενοι κατὰ τὸν Σολομώντα γινῶναι σοφίαν καὶ παιδεῖαν νοῆσαι τε λόγους φρονήσεως δέξασθαι τε στροφάς λόγων νοῆσαι τε δικαιοσύνην ἀληθὴ (Prov 1:2–3) (ὡς οὐσης καὶ ἐτέρας τῆς μὴ κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν διδασκομένης πρὸς τῶν νόμων τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν φιλοσόφων) (2.) καὶ κρίματα, φησὶν, εὐθύναι, οὐ τὰ δικαστικά, ἀλλὰ τὸ κριτήριον τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν ὑγιὲς καὶ ἀπλανὲς ἔχειν δεῖν μνησθῆναι, ἵνα δῶ ἀκάκοις πανουργίαν, παιδί δὲ νέῳ αἴσθησιν τε καὶ ἔννοιαν. τῶνδε γάρ ἀκούσας σοφὸς (Prov 1:3–5), ὁ ὑπακούειν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς πεπεισμένος, σοφώτερος ἔσται κατὰ τὴν γνώσιν, ὁ δὲ νοήμων κυβέρνησιν κτήσεται νοῆσει τε παραβολὴν καὶ σκοτεινὸν λόγον ῥήσεις τε σοφῶν καὶ αἰνίγματα (Prov 1:5–6).

Strom. VI 15, 130: (1.) τὸ φῶς ἀνατέλλουσα. λέγεται δ' οὖν εἶδος τῆς προφητείας ἡ «παροιμία» κατὰ τὴν βάρβαρον φιλοσοφίαν λέγεται τε καὶ «παραβολή» τὸ τε «αἰνίγμα» ἐπὶ τούτοις. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ σοφία λέγεται, καὶ ὡς ἕτερον αὐτῆς ἡ παιδεία λόγοι τε αὐτῶν φρονήσεως καὶ στροφῆς λόγων καὶ δικαιοσύνη ἀληθοῦς διδασκαλία τε αὐτοῦ κατευθύνει κρίμα καὶ πανουργία ἀκάκοις κατὰ τὴν παιδεῖαν περιγινόμενη αἴσθησις τε καὶ ἔννοια τῷ νεοκατηχέτῳ γινομένη. (2.) ὁ τούτων ἀκούσας, φησὶ, τῶν προφητῶν σοφὸς σοφώτερος ἔσται, κυβέρνησιν δὲ ὁ νοήμων κτήσεται καὶ νοῆσει παραβολὴν καὶ σκοτεινὸν λόγον ῥήσεις τε σοφῶν καὶ αἰνίγματα (Prov 1:2–6).

Prov 10:19: ἐκ πολυλογίας οὐκ ἐκφεύξῃ ἀμαρτίαν φειδόμενος δὲ χειλέων νοήμων ἔσθι.

Paed. II 6, 52, 4: Ἐκ γάρ τοι πολυλογίας οὐκ ἐκφεύξῃ, φησὶν, ἀμαρτίαν· δίκην ἄρα ὑφέξει ἢ γλωσσαργία· ἔστι γὰρ σιωπῶν εὐρίσκόμενος σοφός, καὶ ἔστι μισητός ἀπὸ πολλῆς λαλιάς (Sir 20:5). Ἦδη καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτῷ ὁ ἀδολέσχης προσκορῆς· πλεονάζων γὰρ λόγον βδελύττεται τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ (Sir 20:8).

Prov 15, 17: κρείσσων ξενισμὸς λαχάνων πρὸς φιλίαν καὶ χάριν ἢ παράθεσις μόσχων μετὰ ἔχθρας.

Paed. II 1, 16, 3: 'Ο γάρ τοι θεός τὸν ἄνθρωπον πλάσας πάντα ὑμῖν εἶπεν ἔσται εἰς βρώσιν. Λάχανα δὲ μετὰ ἀγάπης ἢ μόσχον μετὰ δολιότητος.

Prov 23, 20: μὴ ἴσθι οἰνοπότης μηδὲ ἐκτείνου συμβολαῖς κρεῶν τε ἀγορασμοῖς.

(21.) πᾶς γὰρ μέθυσος καὶ πορνοκόπος πτωχεύσει, καὶ ἐνδύσεται διερρηγμένα καὶ βρακῶδη πᾶς ὑπνώδης.

Paed. II 2, 27, 1: Τοῦτον τὸν βίον, εἰ βίον καλεῖν χρή, ῥάθυμον ὄντα καὶ περὶ τὰς ἡδυπαθείας κεκινημένον καὶ περὶ τὴν οἰνοφλυγίαν ἐπτοημένον ἢ θεία σοφία ὑφορωμένη παραγγέλλει τοῖς αὐτῆς τέκνοις. Μὴ ἴσθι οἰνοπότης μηδὲ ἐκτείνου συμβολαῖς, κρεῶν ἀγορασμοῖς, πᾶς γὰρ μέθυσος καὶ πορνοκόπος πτωχεύσει καὶ ἐνδύσεται διερρηγμένα πᾶς ὑπνώδης.

Prov 23:29–30: (29.) τίني οὐαί; τίني θόρυβος; τίني κρίσις; τίني ἀηδία καὶ λέσχει; τίني συντρίμματα διὰ κενῆς; τίνος πέλειοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοί; (30.) οὐ τῶν ἐγχευόντων ἐν οἴνοις; οὐ τῶν ἰχνευόντων ποῦ πότοι γίνονται;

Paed. II 2, 27, 4: Ταῦτῃ νοουθετικώτατα ἐπιφέρει. Τίني οὐαί; Τίني θόρυβος; Τίني κρίσις; Τίني ἀηδεῖς λέσχει; Τίني συντρίμματα διακενῆς; Ὅρατε ὅλον διερρωγῶτα τὸν φίλον, ὃς παρορᾷ μὲν τὸν λόγον αὐτόν, ἔκδοτον δὲ αὐτόν συνεχώρησεν τῇ μέθῃ, ὅσα τούτῳ ἠπειλήσεν ἢ γραφῇ· καὶ πάλιν ἐπιφέρει τῇ ἀπειλῇ. Τίνος πελιδνοὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοί; Οὐ τῶν ἐγχευόντων ἐν οἴνοις; Οὐ τῶν ἰχνευόντων ποῦ πότοι γίνονται; Ἐνταῦθα μὲν καὶ νεκρὸν ἤδη τῷ λόγῳ τὸν φιλοπότην ἀποφαίνεται, διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τῶν πελιδνῶν, ὃ τοῖς νεκροῖς σημεῖον ἐπιφαίνεται, τὸν ἐν κυρίῳ θάνατον αὐτῷ καταγγείλασα· ἡ γὰρ ἀμνηστία τῶν εἰς τὴν ἀληθῆ συντεινόντων ζωὴν ἐπὶ τὴν φθορὰν ῥέπει.

Prov 23:31–34: (31.) μὴ μεθύσκεσθε οἶνῳ, ἀλλὰ ὁμιλεῖτε ἀνθρώποις δικαίοις καὶ ὁμιλεῖτε ἐν περιπατοῖς. ἂν γὰρ εἰς τὰς φιάλας καὶ τὰ ποτήρια θῶς τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς σου, ὕστερον περιπατήσεις γυμνότερος ὑπέρου, (32.) τὸ δὲ ἔσχατον ὥσπερ ὑπὸ ὀφews πεπληγὼς ἐκτείνεται καὶ ὥσπερ ὑπὸ κεράστου διαχεῖται αὐτῷ ὁ ἴος. (33.) οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου ὅταν ἴδωσιν ἄλλοτρίαν, τὸ στόμα σου τότε λαλήσει σκολιά, (34.) καὶ κατακείσῃ ὥσπερ ἐν καρδίᾳ θαλάσσης καὶ ὥσπερ κυβερνήτης ἐν πολλῷ κλύδωνι.

Paed. II 2, 28, 1: Εἰκότως οὖν στερρότατα ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἀπαγορεύει τῆς ἡμετέρας κηδόμενος σωτηρίας. Μὴ πίνετε οἶνον ἐπὶ μέθῃ. Διὰ τί, πεύση; Ὅτι, φησί, τὸ στόμα σου τότε λαλήσει σκολιά, κατακείσῃ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐν καρδίᾳ θαλάσσης καὶ ὥσπερ κυβερνήτης ἐν πολλῷ κλύδωνι.

Prov 31:25–29: (25.) στόμα αὐτῆς διήνοιξεν προσεχόντως καὶ ἐννόμως καὶ τάξιν ἐστείλατο τῇ γλώσσῃ αὐτῆς. (26.) ἰσχὺν καὶ εὐπρέπειαν ἐνεδύσατο καὶ εὐφράνθη ἐν ἡμέραις ἐσχάταις. (27.) στεγναὶ διατριβαὶ οἰκῶν αὐτῆς, σῖτα δὲ ὀκνηρὰ οὐκ ἔφαγεν. (28.) τὸ στόμα δὲ ἀνοίγει σοφῶς καὶ νομοθέσμως, ἡ δὲ ἐλεημοσύνη αὐτῆς ἀνέστησεν τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐπλούτησαν, καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ἤνεσεν αὐτήν (29.) Πολλαὶ θυγατέρες ἐκτῆσαντο πλοῦτον, πολλαὶ ἐποίησαν

δυνατά, σὺ δὲ ὑπέρκεισαι καὶ ὑπερήρας πάσας. (30.) ψευδεῖς ἀρέσκαιαι καὶ μάταιον κάλλος γυναικός· γυνὴ γὰρ συνετὴ εὐλογεῖται, φόβον δὲ κυρίου αὐτὴ αἰνεῖτω.

Prov 12:4: γυνὴ ἀνδρεία στέφανος τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς· ὥσπερ δὲ ἐν ξύλῳ σκώληξ, οὕτως ἄνδρα ἀπόλλυσιν γυνὴ κακοποιός.

Paed. III 11, 67, 3: Συλλήβδην γοῦν ταμειῖον ἀρετῆς ἐστὶν ἀνδρεία γυνή,²⁵ ἥτις σίτα ὀκνηρὰ οὐκ ἔφαγεν (Prov 31:27), θεσμοὶ δὲ ἐλεημοσύνης (Prov 31:28) ἐπὶ τῇ γλώσσει αὐτῆς (Prov 31:25), ἥτις τὸ στόμα αὐτῆς διήνοιξεν σοφῶς καὶ ἐννόμως (Prov 31:25,28), ἥς τὰ τέκνα ἐμακάρισαν ἀνιστάμενα (Prov 31:28), ὡς διὰ Σολομώντος λέγει ὁ ἅγιος λόγος, ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ἐνεκωμίασεν (Prov 31:28). Γυνὴ γὰρ εὐσεβῆς εὐλογεῖται, φόβον δὲ κυρίου αὐτὴ αἰνεῖτω (Prov 31:30). Καὶ πάλιν· Γυνὴ ἀνδρεία στέφανος τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς (Prov 12:4).

Prov 31:19–20: (19.) τοὺς πῆχεις αὐτῆς ἐκτείνει ἐπὶ τὰ συμφέροντα, τὰς δὲ χεῖρας αὐτῆς ἐρείδει εἰς ἄτρακτον. (20.) χεῖρας δὲ αὐτῆς διήνοιξεν πένητι, καρπὸν δὲ ἐξέτεινεν πτωχῷ.

Paed. III 10, 49, 5: τὴν τοιαύτην γυναῖκα ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἀποδέχεται, ἡ τοὺς πῆχεις ἐκτενεῖ εἰς τὰ χρήσιμα, τὰς χεῖρας δὲ αὐτῆς ἐρείδεται εἰς ἄτρακτον· χεῖρας δὲ αὐτῆς διήνοιξεν πένητι, καρπὸν δὲ ἐξέτεινεν πτωχῷ (Prov 31:19–20)...

Prov 11:22: ὥσπερ ἐνώτιον ἐν ῥινὶ ὕός, οὕτως γυναικὶ κακόφρονι κάλλος.

Paed. III 11, 56, 3: Κωλύει δὲ βιαζομένους τὴν φύσιν ὁ λόγος τοὺς λοβοὺς τῶν ὠτίων τιτράναι. Διὰ τί γὰρ οὐχὶ καὶ τὴν ῥίνα; Ἵνα δὴ κακέينو πληρωθῇ τὸ εἰρημένον· Ὡσπερ ἐνώτιον ἐν ῥινὶ ὕός, οὕτως γυναικὶ κακόφρονι κάλλος (11,22).

Prov 5:3–5: (3.) μὴ πρόσεχε φαύλῃ γυναικί· μέλι γὰρ ἀποστάζει ἀπὸ χειλέων γυναικὸς πόρνης, ἢ πρὸς καιρὸν λιπαίνει σὸν φάρυγγα, (4.) ὕστερον μέντοι πικρότερον χολῆς εὐρήσεις καὶ ἡκονημένον μάλλον μαχαίρας διστόμου. (5.) τῆς γὰρ ἀφροσύνης οἱ πόδες κατὰγουσιν τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτῇ μετὰ θανάτου εἰς τὸν ἄδην, τὰ δὲ ἔχνη αὐτῆς οὐκ ἐρείδεται·

Paed. III 11, 68, 2: Μέλι γὰρ ἀποστάζει ἀπὸ χειλέων γυναικὸς πόρνης, ἢ πρὸς χάριν λαλοῦσα λιπαίνει σὸν φάρυγγα (Prov 5:3), ὕστερον μέντοι πικρότερον χολῆς εὐρήσεις καὶ ἡκονημένον μάλλον ἢ μάχαιραν δίστομον· τῆς γὰρ ἀφροσύνης οἱ πόδες κατὰγουσι τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτῇ μετὰ θανάτου εἰς Ἄϊδην (Prov 5:5). Cf. *Paed.* III 11, 69, 3; *Strom.* I 5, 29, 6–9.

Prov 9:13–18: (13.) Γυνὴ ἄφρων καὶ θρασεῖα ἐνδεὴς ψωμοῦ γίνεται, ἢ οὐκ ἐπίσταται αἰσχύνῃν (14.) ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ θύραις τοῦ ἑαυτῆς οἴκου ἐπὶ δίφρῳ ἐμφανῶς ἐν πλατείαις (15.) προσκαλουμένη τοὺς παριόντας καὶ κατευθύνοντας ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν (16.) Ὅς ἐστὶν ὑμῶν ἀφρονέστατος, ἐκκλινάτω πρὸς με· ἐνδεέσι δὲ φρονήσεως παρακελεύομαι λέγουσα

25 Cf. CAF III, p. 373, n. 5.

(17.) Ἄρτων κρυφίων ἡδέως ἄψασθε καὶ ὕδατος κλοπῆς γλυκεροῦ. (18.) ὁ δὲ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι γηγενεῖς παρ' αὐτῇ ὄλλυνται, καὶ ἐπὶ πέτευρον ἄδου συναντᾷ. (18a.) ἀλλὰ ἀποπήδησον, μὴ ἐγχρονίσῃς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ μηδὲ ἐπιστήσης τὸ σὸν ὄμμα πρὸς αὐτήν· (18b.) οὕτως γὰρ διαβήσῃ ὕδωρ ἀλλότριον καὶ ὑπερβήσῃ ποταμὸν ἀλλότριον· (18c.) ἀπὸ δὲ ὕδατος ἀλλοτρίου ἀπόσχου καὶ ἀπὸ πηγῆς ἀλλοτρίας μὴ πίης, (18d.) ἵνα πολὺν ζήσης χρόνον, προστεθῇ δέ σοι ἔτη ζωῆς.

(Prov 9:13–18—*Paed.* III 2, 9, 3–4; 3, 71, 4–5; *Strom.* I 19, 95, 4–1, 96, 4)

Prov 2:3–7: (3.) ἐὰν γὰρ τὴν σοφίαν ἐπικαλέσῃ καὶ τῇ συνέσει δῶς φωνὴν σου, τὴν δὲ αἰσθήσιν ζητήσῃς μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ, (4.) καὶ ἐὰν ζητήσῃς αὐτὴν ὡς ἀργυρίου καὶ ὡς θησαυροῦς ἐξερευνήσῃς αὐτήν, (5.) τότε συνήσεις φόβον κυρίου καὶ ἐπίγνωσιν θεοῦ εὐρήσεις. (6.) ὅτι κύριος δίδωσιν σοφίαν, καὶ ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ γνώσις καὶ σύνεσις· (7.) καὶ θησαυρίζει τοῖς κατορθοῦσι σωτηρίαν,

Strom. I 4, 27, 2–3: (2.) ἐὰν γὰρ τὴν φρόνησιν τὴν τε αἰσθήσιν ἐπικαλέσῃ μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ καὶ ζητήσῃς αὐτὴν ὥσπερ ἀργυρίου θησαυροῦς καὶ προθύμως ἐξιχνιάσῃς, νοήσεις θεοσέβειαν καὶ αἰσθήσιν θείαν εὐρήσεις, (Prov 2:3–5) πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν τῆς κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν αἰσθήσεως εἴρηκεν ὁ προφήτης, ἦν μεγαλοφυῶς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐξερευνᾶν διδάσκει εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν θεοσέβειαν προκοπὴν. (3.) ἀντέθηκεν οὖν αὐτῇ τὴν ἐν θεοσεβείᾳ αἰσθήσιν, τὴν γνῶσιν αἰνισσόμενος καὶ τὰδε λέγων· ὁ γὰρ θεὸς δίδωσι σοφίαν ἐκ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ στόματος αἰσθήσιν τε ἅμα καὶ φρόνησιν, καὶ θησαυρίζει δικαίοις βοήθειαν· (Prov 2:6–7). τοῖς γὰρ ὑπὸ φιλοσοφίας δεδικαιωμένοις βοήθεια θησαυρίζεται καὶ ἡ εἰς θεοσέβειαν συναίσθησις.

Strom. I 5, 28, 1–4: Ἦν μὲν οὖν πρὸ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου παρουσίας εἰς δικαιοσύνην Ἑλληνιστὶ ἀναγκαία φιλοσοφία, νυνὶ δὲ χρησίμη πρὸς θεοσέβειαν γίνεται, προπαιδεῖα τις οὖσα τοῖς τὴν πίστιν δι' ἀποδείξεως καρπουμένοις, ὅτι ὁ πούς σου φησὶν οὐ μὴ προσκόψῃ (Prov 3:23), ἐπὶ τὴν πρόνοιαν τὰ καλὰ ἀναφέροντος, ἐὰν τε Ἑλληνικὰ ἦ ἐὰν τε ἡμέτερα. πάντων μὲν γὰρ αἴτιος τῶν καλῶν ὁ θεός, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν κατὰ προηγούμενον ὡς τῆς τε διαθήκης τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ τῆς νέας, τῶν δὲ κατ' ἐπακολούθημα ὡς τῆς φιλοσοφίας. τάχα δὲ καὶ προηγούμενως τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐδόθη τότε πρὶν ἢ τὸν κύριον καλέσαι καὶ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας· ἐπαιδαγώγει γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὡς ὁ νόμος τοὺς Ἑβραίους εἰς Χριστόν. προπαρασκευάζει τοίνυν ἡ φιλοσοφία προοδοποιούσα τὸν ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ τελειούμενον. αὐτίκα τὴν σοφίαν ὁ Σολομὼν περιχαράκωσεν φησὶν, καὶ ὑπερυψώσει σε· στεφάνῳ δὲ τρυφῆς ὑπερασπίσει σε (Prov 4:8), ἐπεὶ καὶ σὺ τῷ θριγκῷ ὑπεροχυρώσας αὐτὴν διὰ φιλοσοφίας καὶ πολὺ τελείας ὀρθῆς ἀνεπίβατον τοῖς σοφισταῖς τηρήσεις.

Strom. I 5, 29, 1–3: μία μὲν οὖν ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας ὁδός, ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὴν καθάπερ εἰς ἀέαντον ποταμὸν ἐκρέουσιν τὰ ρέιθρα ἄλλα ἄλλοθεν. ἐνθὲς οὖν ἄρα εἴρηται· ἄκουε, υἱέ μου, καὶ δέξαι ἐμοὺς λόγους, φησὶν, ἵνα σοι γένωνται πολλοὶ ὁδοὶ βίου (Prov 4:10)· ὁδοὺς γὰρ σοφίας διδάσκαυέ σε, ὅπως μὴ ἐκλίπῃς σε αἱ πηγαὶ (4:11.21), αἱ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκβλύζουσαι γῆς. οὐ δὴ μόνον ἐνός τινος δικαίου ὁδοῦς πλειονὰς σωτηρίους κατέλεξεν, ἐπιφέρει δὲ ἄλλας πολλῶν πολλὰς δικαίων ὁδοῦς μηνύων ὧδε πως· αἱ δὲ ὁδοὶ τῶν δικαίων ὁμοίως φωτὶ λάμπουσιν (4:18). εἴεν δ' ἂν καὶ αἱ ἐντολαὶ καὶ αἱ προπαιδεῖαι ὁδοὶ καὶ ἀφορμαὶ τοῦ βίου.

Strom. I 5, 29, 6–9: καὶν τις βιαζόμενος λέγῃ· μὴ πρόσσεχε φαύλη γυναικί, μέλι γὰρ ἀποστάζει ἀπὸ χειλέων γυναικὸς πόρνης, τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν εἶναι παιδεῖαν, ἐπακουσάτω τῶν ἐξῆς· ἢ πρὸς καιρὸν λιπαίνει σὸν φάρυγγα (Prov 5:3), φησί, φιλοσοφία δὲ οὐ κολακεύει. τίνα τοίνυν αἰνίσσεται τὴν ἐκπορνεύσασαν; ἐπιφέρει ῥητῶς· τῆς γὰρ ἀφροσύνης οἱ πόδες κατάγουσι τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτῇ μετὰ θανάτου εἰς Ἄιδην, τὰ δὲ ἔχνη αὐτῆς οὐκ ἐρείδεται (5:5). μακρὰν οὖν ποίησον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀφρονος ἡδονῆς τὴν σὴν ὁδόν, μὴ ἐπιστῆς θύραις οἴκων αὐτῆς, ἵνα μὴ προῇ ἄλλοις τὴν σὴν ζωὴν (5:8–9). καὶ ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ· εἴτα μεταμελήσει σοι ἐπὶ γήρῳ, ἡνίκα ἂν κατατριβῶσί σου σάρκες σώματος (5:11). τοῦτο γὰρ τέλος τῆς ἀφρονος ἡδονῆς. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ταύτη· ὁπηνίκα δ' ἂν φῇ· μὴ πολὺς ἴσθι πρὸς ἄλλοτρίαν (5:20), χρῆσθαι μὲν, οὐκ ἐνδιατρίβειν δὲ καὶ ἐναπομένειν τῇ κοσμικῇ παιδείᾳ παραινεῖ.

Appendix v

Visual charts of the use of Proverbs and Sirach in Clement’s work
(BiPa = Biblia Patristica; AvdH = Annewies van den Hoek in this article; Méhat = André Méhat, *Étude sur les ‘Stromates’ de Clément d’Alexandrie*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1966)

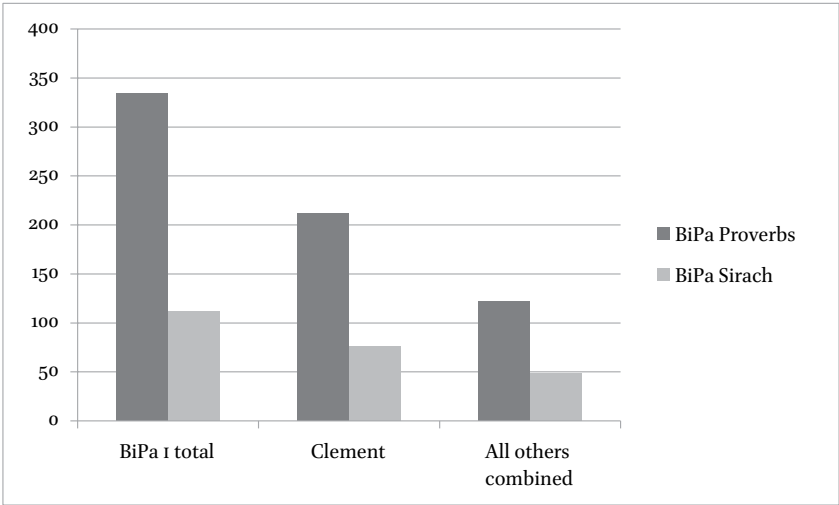


CHART 1 *The frequency of quotations from Proverbs and Sirach according to Biblia Patristica.*

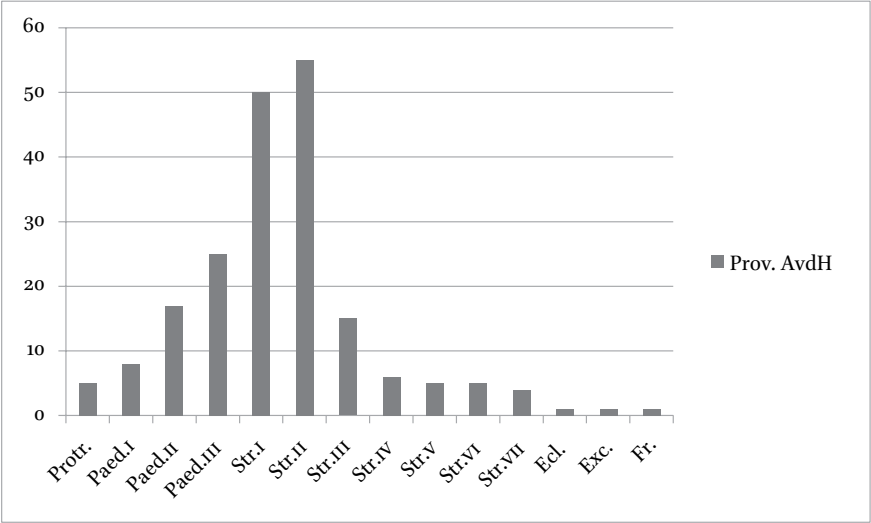


CHART 2 *The frequency of quotations from Proverbs according to this study.*

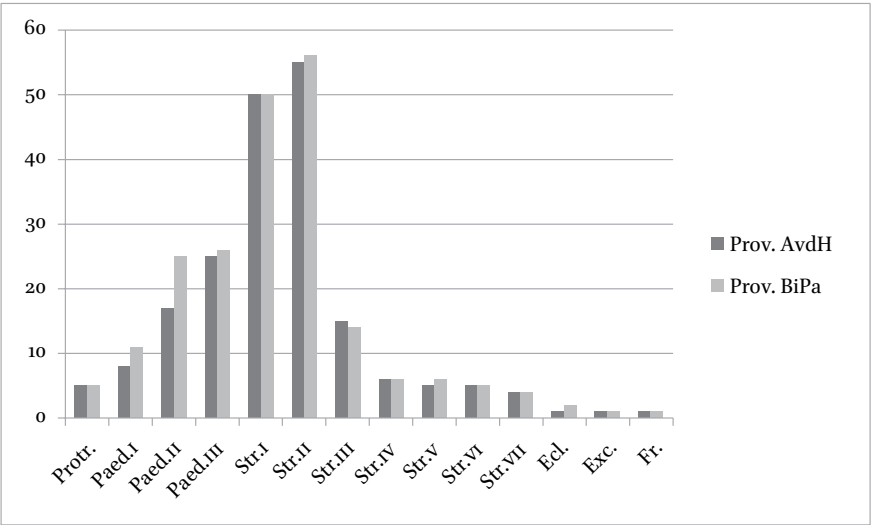


CHART 3 *The frequency of quotations from Proverbs according to this study and Biblia Patristica.*

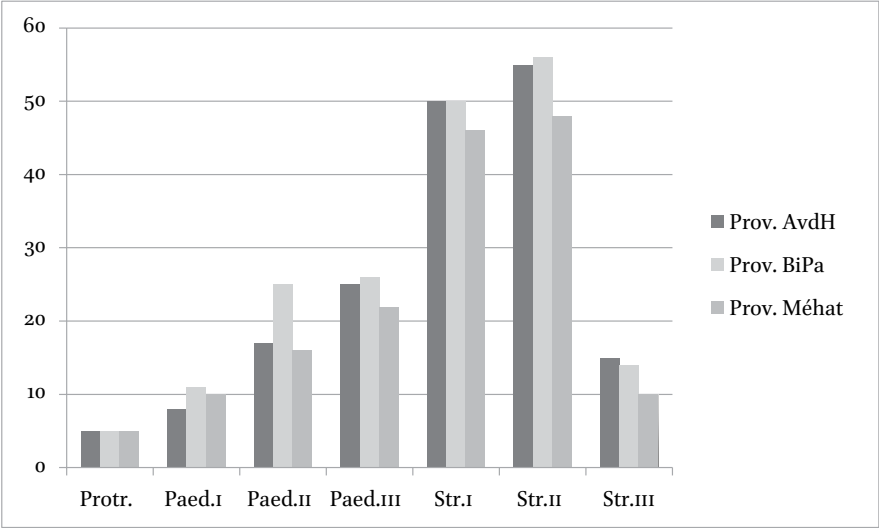


CHART 4 *The frequency of quotations from Proverbs in Clement's early work.*

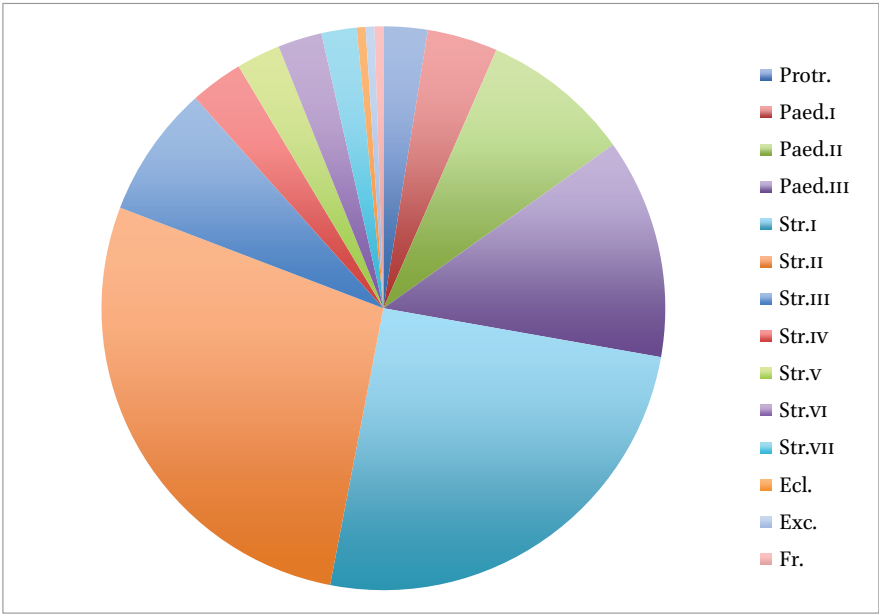


CHART 5 *The frequency of quotations from Proverbs in Clement's total work visualized in a circular chart. Read the chart clockwise starting from top.*

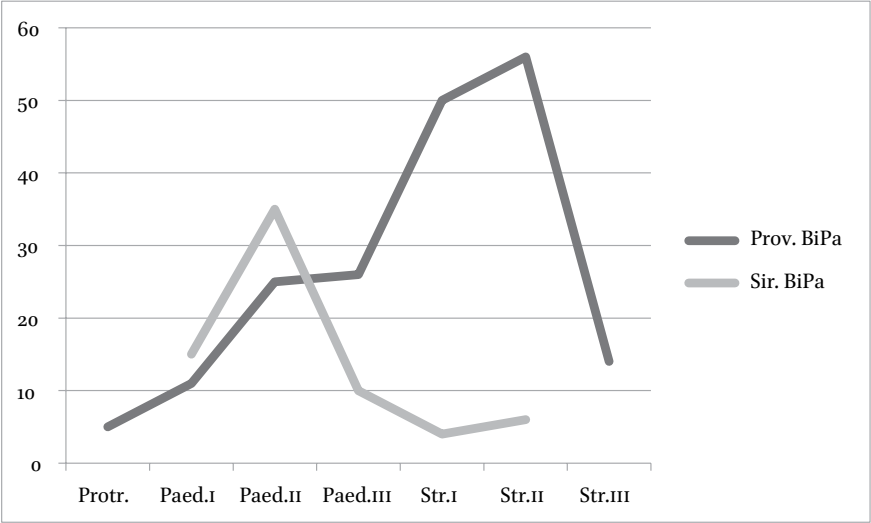


CHART 6 *The development of quotations from Proverbs and Sirach according to Biblia Patristica.*

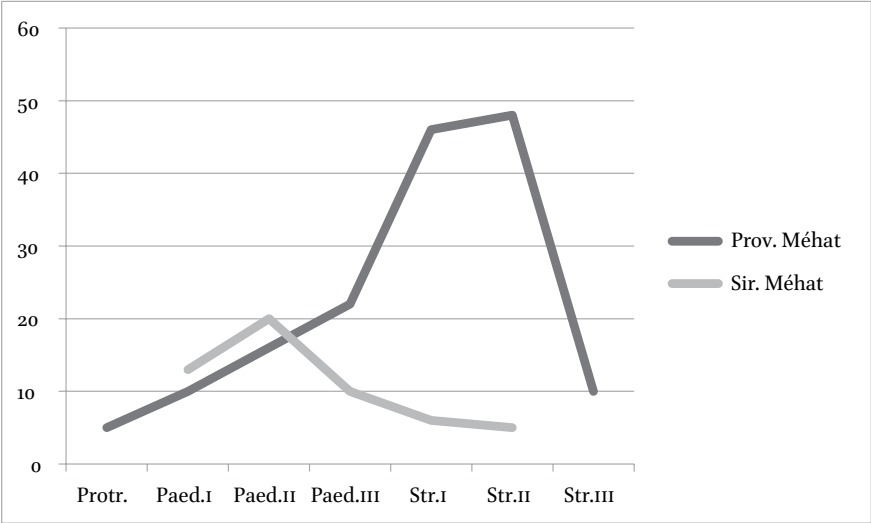


CHART 7 *The development of quotations from Proverbs and Sirach according to Méhat.*

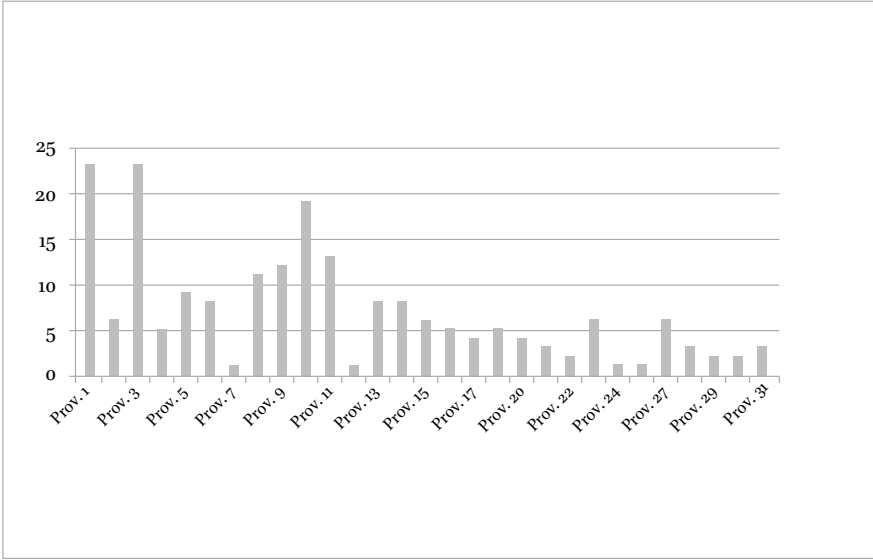


CHART 8 *The distribution of quotations from Proverbs in Clement's work according to the chapter divisions of Proverbs.*

Four Desires: Clement of Alexandria and the Sermon on the Mount*

Veronika Černušková

“Ο δὲ ἐδίωκεν ἀνὰ κράτος,
ἐπιλαθόμενος τῆς ἡλικίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ, κεκραγώς·
τί με φεύγεις, τέκνον, τὸν σαυτοῦ πατέρα, τὸν γυμνόν, γέροντα;
ἐλέησόν με, τέκνον, μὴ φοβοῦ· ἔχεις ἔτι ζωῆς ἐλπίδας . . .

Quis dives 42, 12–13

1 Introduction

In Clement's work, I managed to find 343 references to Matt 5–7 and parallel texts,¹ which include both citations and obvious allusions, as well as less

* I would like to thank Judith Kovacs for her helpful comments on this paper.

1 As the fundamental source material for the collection of Clement's references to Matt 5–7 par. I used, in addition to my own reading practice, Stählin's index: Otto Stählin and Ursula Treu (eds.), *Clemens Alexandrinus, IV: Register* (GCS 39; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 21980). I subsequently compared its content with the index to Clement's texts in *Sources Chrétiennes*, with Nardi's index included in the translation of *Eclogae prophetae* and Marcovich's index to the edition of *Exhortation to the Greeks* (Marcovich's edition of *Paedagogus* does not contain indices). Finally, I compared the results of this research with information from the Internet database, *Index of Biblical Quotations and Allusions in Early Christian Literature (Bibindex)* and modern textual critical studies, namely the outstanding publication by Carl P. Cosaert, *The Text of the Gospels in Clement of Alexandria* (SBLNTG 9. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008). In the course of my work, I also drew extensively from the electronic databases, *TLG Workplace*, *Musaiois* and *BibleWorks*. Stählin's index, at least with regard to biblical references, is rather unreliable—in my experience it lists a large number of irrelevant references and perhaps even more are omitted. In the case of references to synoptic gospels, another serious difficulty emerges: Stählin mostly includes references to all parallel sections of the text, separately for each gospel, also in cases where it is clear which one of the synoptics serves as Clement's source; in other cases he only provides a reference to Matthew, although there is no indication that Clement is referring to Matthew, and not another synoptic gospel. It is thus misleading, in terms of the actual number of references to gospels, for readers who just browse through the index. Indices to *Sources Chrétiennes*, Nardi's and Marcovich's indices are more reliable. But they are not exhaustive and references

evident allusions, since, as is generally known, Clement often quotes his favorite parts of the Bible or other writings in such a way as to make the allusions difficult to identify.²

Clement clearly prefers the Matthean version of the Sermon to the parallel texts: in the majority of cases, he refers explicitly to Matthew’s text; approximately ten percent of the references relate clearly to the parallel texts in the Gospel of Luke. For almost a third of the references, it cannot be determined to which of the synoptic gospels Clement refers, or whether his references reflect (even) another text in the New Testament.³

Clement refers most often, i.e. more than seven times each, to twelve verses (or parts thereof) from the Sermon on the Mount, that relate to three main topics: abandoning improper desires, cultivation of salutary desires with the help of God’s promises, and doing God’s will, especially his commandment to love one’s enemies. Abandoning evil desires leads to the “poverty” of heart that makes it possible to see God; lust, on the other hand, involves spiritual adultery.⁴ In the following list the most frequently cited verses from Matthew 5–7 are arranged according to these three topics (Greek text cited from NA²⁸):

that relate to two or all three synoptics are also included without more precise classification for references to each of these gospels. Moreover, none of the indices distinguishes between a reference to the verse as a whole and a reference to a part thereof.

2 See Appendix I and II. My classification of the individual references was based on Cosaert’s study, adopting his categorization of references into citations, adaptations, allusions and references, in which case it is impossible to determine to which synoptic version they refer. Allusions that are not included in Cosaert’s study are considered free allusions. For translations of biblical texts, I cite the text of the New Revised Standard Version (1989). Translations from Clement’s works are my own.

3

Matt 5–7	par. Luke	Matt 5–7	Matt 5–7	Matt 5–7	Matt 5–7	Matt 5–7	Matt 5–7	Matt 5–7
	or par. Mark	or par. Luke	or par. Luke or par. Mark	or other verse from NT	or other verse from OT	or par. Mark or other verse from NT	or par. Luke or other verse from NT	
198	35	2	78	3	6	2	7	12

4 Regarding the spiritual implications of adultery, see: *Strom.* III 12, 89, 1; VI 16, 146, 3–147, 1.

Improper desires and their abandonment

Matt 5:8: μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν θεὸν ὄψονται.

Matt 5:28a: ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι πᾶς ὁ βλέπων . . . πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι⁵ . . . ἤδη ἐμοίχευσεν.

Matt 5:3a / Luke 5:20b: μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοί (τῷ πνεύματι) . . .

Salutary desires and God's promises

Matt 7:7a / Luke 11:9a: αἰτεῖτε καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν.

Matt 5:9b: . . . ὅτι αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ θεοῦ κληθήσονται.

Matt 6:20 / Luke 12:33: . . . θησαυροὺς ἐν οὐρανῷ / . . . βαλλάντια μὴ παλαιούμενα, θησαυρὸν ἀνέκλειπτον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς . . .

Matt 7:7b / Luke 11:9b: ζητεῖτε καὶ εὐρήσετε.

Matt 5:6a: μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντες καὶ διψῶντες . . .

God's will and the commandment to love one's enemies

Matt 5:44 / Luke 6:27–28: ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς.

/ ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν, καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς, εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς, προσεύχεσθε περὶ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς.

Matt 5:45b / Luke 6:35b: . . . ὅτι τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ πονηροὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς καὶ βρέχει ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους.
/ . . . ὅτι αὐτὸς χρηστός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀχαρίστους καὶ πονηροὺς.

Matt 7:21 / Luke 6:46: . . . τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.
/ τί δέ με καλεῖτε· κύριε κύριε, καὶ οὐ ποιεῖτε ἃ λέγω;

Matt 5:48 / Luke 6:36: ἔσεσθε οὖν ὑμεῖς τέλειοι ὡς ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος τέλειός ἐστιν.
/ γίνεσθε οἰκτίρμονες καθὼς καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν οἰκτίρμων ἐστίν.

As I have observed,⁶ there are fewer than forty biblical verses or sections of non-biblical literature that are mentioned as often by Clement. Of the thirteen

⁵ Instead of πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι is always used πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν or κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν!

⁶ This observation draws on several years of work on the index to *Stromateis*, which I have been compiling in close cooperation with Jana Plátová; for references in other works of Clement's, I compared Stählin's index with the Biblindex database and checked discrepancies in the text.

biblical verses or sections of non-biblical texts that are referenced more than twelve times, nearly half come from the Sermon on the Mount. Thus the Sermon on the Mount is arguably the most referenced passage of all the sources cited by Clement.⁷

On the other hand, there are other verses from the Sermon on the Mount to which no reference is made in Clement's extant works. Apart from three more significant sections, Matt 5:23–24; 7:3–5 and 7:22–29, these are mostly isolated verses or parts thereof. In some cases this may be due to random omission or any other number of trivial causes, such as the fact that the passages concerned include facts about Jewish culture that were not of interest to Clement's readership. In examining which passages are *not* referenced in Clement's extant works, however, I noticed two marked and one less clear tendency. Clement avoids mentioning the promises of reward and, even more consistently, he avoids comparing Christ's addresses with "worse" people: Pharisees, hypocrites, pagans, and so forth. He doesn't refer to any of the sections that mention these things. Furthermore, it seems that he avoids referring to sentences that touch on the problem of evil, perhaps because he thinks they are at risk of being misinterpreted.⁸ Might we have here a case of "pedagogical silence" evident in contexts, where Clement abruptly dismisses certain difficult themes?⁹

List of passages from Matt 5–7 not mentioned by Clement:¹⁰

Promise of reward	Comparison with "worse people"	Evil vs God's will	Facts related to Jewish culture?	Chance?
5:12	5:16b	5:13c	5:22b	5:1–2
5:46a	5:46b–47	5:22d	5:33b	5:18a

7 See Appendix IV. Especially *Quis dives*, *Strom.* VII and *Strom.* IV very often remind readers of Matt 5–7par., see Appendix V.

8 To make a quick comparison: Among Justin's references to Matt 5–7par., presented by J. Allenbach et al. (eds.), *Biblia Patristica: Index des citations et allusions bibliques dans la littérature patristique* (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1975), are verses not alluded to by Clement (Matt 5:16b, 5:20, 5:41, 6:1b, 7:19) and, on the other hand, half of Clement's favorite parts of the Sermon on the Mount are missing (Matt 5:3, 5:6, 5:8, 5:9, 5:48, 7:7). Tertullian refers to several verses not alluded to by Clement (Matt 5:12, 5:23f, 5:26, 6:16, 7:3, 7:9, 7:17, 7:26) and—according to BiPa—does not mention Matt 5:8 and 6:20 at all. According to this index, Irenaeus neither mentions Matt 5:5, 5:9, 6:20, 5:48, which are among Clement's favorite verses, and he does refer to verses not alluded to by Clement (e.g., Matt 5:12, 5:23f, 5:26, 5:46f, 7:5, 7:19). Origen refers to every verse of the Sermon on the Mount.

9 See, e.g., *Strom.* IV, 13, 89, 1; IV, 4, 16, 3.

10 See also Appendix III.

6:1b	6:2b	5:23–24	5:34b–36a	5:19a ¹³
6:4b and 6,6b	6:5a	5:25c–26		5:38b
6:5c and 6,16b	6:7b–8a	5:28b		5:41
6:18b	6:16a	5:29b and 5:30c		5:43a ¹⁴
	7:20	5:29d and 5:30e ¹¹		6:10a ¹⁵
		5:43b		7:28–29
		6:15 ¹²		
		6:23b		
		7:3–5		
		7:8a		
		7:9–10		
		7:14b		
		7:17		
		7:19		
		7:22–23		
		7:24–27a		

This enumeration of Clement's favourite and, on the other hand, unmentioned passages, prompts two interrelated questions. First: in which sense should, according to Clement, the human heart be free of desires? Second: what exactly does forgiveness and love of enemies mean to Clement—what attitude towards evil should the Gnostic adopt if he wants to be in accordance with God's will?

11 In *Quis dives* 24, 2 Clement in the allusion to Matt 5:29 doesn't speak about the hell (γέεννα), but only about the fire (πῦρ), cf. e.g., *Strom.* VII 6, 34, 4.

12 According to BiPa, Matt 6:15 is not cited or alluded to by any of the second century authors.

13 Matthew's idea of various levels of positions in the heavenly kingdom should fit with Clement's concept of the "proper salvation" of Gnostics and the lower level of salvation of those who failed to follow the radical nature of the gospel, who only restrained from evil deeds (as defined in the Ten Commandments), and whose righteousness therefore does not surpass *that of the scribes and Pharisees*. Therefore, it is surprising that Clement does not refer to the first part of the verse of Matt 5:19 at all and that the second part is only mentioned once.

14 But there are several references to Lev 19:18 in Clement's works: *Protr.* 10, 108, 5; *Paed.* II 1, 6, 1; 4, 43, 1; 12, 120, 4; III 11, 78, 1; 11, 81, 1; 12, 88, 1; *Strom.* II 15, 71, 1; IV, 3, 10, 2.3; 18, 111, 2; *Quis dives* 28, 1.

15 Clement never mentions the plea for the establishment of God's kingdom; however, God's kingdom is referred to at other points in Clement's work: *Strom.* I 11, 54, 3 (ad 1 Cor 4:20), III 4, 33, 3 (ad Matt 5:20), IV 2, 5, 3 and V 3, 16, 7 (ad Matt 11:12), VII 12, 74, 8 (ad Matt 7:21), VII 14, 86, 3 (ad 1 Cor 6:9), etc.

2 Abandonment of Desires?

The remarkably low frequency of Clement's references to the promises of future rewards was noted by Judith L. Kovacs in her article on Clement's and Gregory of Nyssa's exegesis of the beatitudes.¹⁶ At the same time, she emphasised the important role played by "true desire" in Clement's concept of the Christian ascent of which the fourth beatitude (Matt 5:6) speaks: desire for achieving righteousness and for fellowship with the righteous God.¹⁷

Clement most often mentions three types of human desire.¹⁸ The first and by far the most often discussed type is the desire for instant, though spurious benefit of a particular individual, a self-centred and short-sighted desire, ἐπιθυμία in Greek, which prefers a current and personal delight to the quality of a relationship. Clement views such desire as a transgression of the last of the Ten Commandments: *You shall not covet* (οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις; Exod 20:17). He considers the hasty decision to fulfil one's desire at once and on one's own to be the root of moral evil¹⁹ and emphasises that Christ, through his precepts, attempts to "extract the root of misconduct," i.e. ἐπιθυμία.²⁰ Clement believes that the urgent need to eradicate desires of this type is expressed in Matt 5:28: *But I say to you that everyone who looks at a woman with lust has already committed adultery with her in his heart*. Most of his allusions to this verse are therefore

16 Judith L. Kovacs, "Clement of Alexandria and Gregory of Nyssa on the Beatitudes," in H.R. Drobner and A. Viciano (eds.), *Gregory of Nyssa, Homilies on the Beatitudes. An English Version with Commentary and Supporting Studies* (VChr Suppl. 52; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 311–29.

17 Similarly, Agnès Bastit, in her literary analysis of the same text by Clement, perceives the interpretation of the fourth Beatitude, the "blessed hunger" as the axis of Clement's entire exegesis. See her "Les béatitudes matthéennes (Mt 5,1–10) comme péricope dynamique dans l'exégèse ancienne, de Clément d'Alexandrie à Augustin," in G. Nauroy and M. Vannier (eds.), *Saint Augustin et la Bible. Actes du colloque de l'Université Paul Verlaine-Metz, 7–8 avril 2005* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2008), 179–213.

18 According to D.G. Hunter's, "The Language of Desire: Clement of Alexandria's Transformation of Ascetic Discourse," *Semeia* 57 (1992) 95–111, Clement most often uses three terms: ἐπιθυμία, ὀρεξις and ὁρμή to signify "desire". In the negative sense (craving, lust, irrational desire), the first one is most often used; the second one, on the other hand, has mostly positive connotations (rationally ordered desire), the third term denotes an ethically neutral physical passion, which has to be controlled so as not to go against nature or beyond the limits of reason (see also *Strom.* 11 20, 109, 1). It needs to be added that Clement often uses other expressions to signify positive desire, esp. ἐλπίς.

19 See e.g., *Strom.* 111 14, 94, 3, which contains the only literal citation of Matt 5:28.

20 *Paed.* 11 6, 51, 2; 111 2, 13, 3.

closely related to the last Commandment and Matthew's verse can even be paraphrased as: "Wherefore it is said: *You shall not covet.*"²¹

Clement understands ἐπιθυμία on two levels. The first level of *you shall not covet*, meaning "you will not desire to do evil" is, in Clement's view, the cardinal commandment, the fulfilment of which is an essential requirement for living life as a Christian. The second level is, when the commandment, *you shall not covet* is no longer seen only as forbidding transgression of the Law, but, in keeping with Matt 5:28, as censoring internal offence against the requirements of the gospel.²² Clement believes that God is able to read our intentions and knows very well when a person really wishes to do evil, and when misconduct is due to a lack of discipline or due to a person's failure to realize in time that his behaviour will be improper.²³ The moral value of a particular act depends entirely on the person's will, decision, desire or craving. A Gnostic who has already been shaped by the New Testament understands not only the basic meaning of the commandments, which he never transgresses, but also their deeper sense, as revealed by Christ in the Sermon on the Mount. He is determined not to sin even in the slightest thought, in order to keep his heart clean and to be able to see God.²⁴ Christian progress or "ascent," according to Clement, means abandoning ἐπιθυμία, both in the sense of the baptismal decision not to seek evil, and in the more rigorous sense of radical purgation, "poverty" or curing of the heart from the merest improper craving.

The second type of desire that Clement often considers is one that seeks benefit for oneself, in this case, however, fulfilment of the desire brings not only apparent, but real benefit. In most cases Clement calls this ἐλπὶς (sometimes also πόθος, ὄρεξις or ἔρως):

When speaking through the mouth of Jeremiah: *If you had walked in God's ways, you would have lived in peace forever* (Bar 3:13), [the Instructor] also calls upon us to gain knowledge. He arouses the desire (ἔρως) for knowledge in sagacious people by showing the reward (μισθός), which

21 *Protr.* 10, 108, 5; *Strom.* III 2, 9, 1; 4, 31, 1; 11, 71, 3; 76, 1.

22 Cf. Veronika Černušková, "Divine and human mercy in *Stromateis*," in M. Havrda, V. Hušek, and J. Plátová (eds.), *The Seventh Book of the Stromateis. Proceedings of the Colloquium on Clement of Alexandria, Olomouc, October 21–23, 2010* (VChr Suppl. 117; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 167–83, here 177.

23 *Strom.* II 14, 61, 3 and context; III 4, 31, 2.

24 *Strom.* II 11, 50, 2 with reference to Matt 5:8; *Strom.* II 15, 66, 1; III 6, 46, 4; VII 11, 60, 4; 12, 76, 1.6–7; VII 14, 86, 3. Cf. *Strom.* VII 12, 76, 1 (νηστεύει τοίνυν καὶ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων τῶν φαύλων καὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τελειότητα ἀπὸ τῶν ἐννοιῶν τῶν πονηρῶν); *Strom.* II 15, 66, 1 (οὐ λογίζονται δὲ ὅσαι μὴ κατὰ προαίρεσιν συνίστανται); *Paed.* I 2, 5, 1–2.

is associated with knowledge, and by granting forgiveness to those who got lost in delusion: *Pass your hand again over the branches like one who gathers grapes* (Jer 6:9) he says.²⁵

This category includes the above-mentioned hope for reward from God for faith demonstrated here on Earth:

God did not ban wealth associated with goodness, only wealth associated with injustice and greed. *Wealth gotten hastily with lawlessness is diminished, as there are those who by distributing grow the richer and there are others who gather, yet have less.* (Prov 13:11; 11:24) It is written about the former: *They have freely scattered their gifts to the poor, their righteousness endures forever.* (Ps 111/112:9) He who has sown much but harvests little (Hag 1:6) is the one who through his current generosity here on earth wins eternal treasures in heaven (cf. Matt 19:21; 6:20). In the opposite case, there are those who do not give anything to anyone, but *store up treasures on earth, where moth and rust destroy* (Matt 6:20).²⁶

Clement considers this desire for reward to be legitimate and healthy, albeit an immature spiritual motivation. Christians are trained to gradually abandon not only their fear of punishment, but also their desire for reward. This must be the reason why Clement includes (especially in his *Stromateis*) so few references to the promises of reward mentioned in the gospels.

The life of a man who is righteous, not out of necessity or fear or hope (ἐλπίς), but by his free choice, is called the royal road, on which the royal race travels.²⁷

Therefore, the first step to salvation is teaching associated with fear, which helps us abstain from injustice, the second step is hope (ἐλπίς), thanks to which we strive for perfection. But perfection, as it fitting only comes through love, which educates us in a gnostic way.²⁸

A Gnostic, i.e. a Christian who decides to do good for the sake of goodness, and not for gain of any reward, is also given certain promises, or hopes (ἐλπίς) for

25 *Paed.* I 10, 92, 3.

26 *Strom.* III 6, 56, 1–2.

27 *Strom.* VII 12, 73, 5; cf. e.g., *Strom.* IV 4, 14, 1, etc.

28 *Strom.* IV 7, 53, 1.

inheritance, for *the unfailing treasure in heaven* (Luke 12:33).²⁹ When Clement speaks about this inheritance of a Gnostic in more specific terms, he uses phrases from the sixth and seventh beatitudes: “perception of God” and being called “sons,”³⁰ or terms such as “friendship” or “relationship (οἰκεῖωσις) with God.”³¹

Having put on the bright array of glory, and received the ineffable inheritance of the spiritual and perfect man, *which no eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor the human heart conceived* (1 Cor 2:9): and having become son (Matt 5:9) and friend, he is now replenished with insatiable contemplation face to face.³²

This is the third type of desire, according to Clement—the “hunger and thirst” for the fulfilment of the deepest needs of the human heart: for truth, for justice, for God, for friendship with God, for being accepted as a son, for love.³³ As soon as it is adopted, this higher type of hope attracts the entire attention of the Christian: he does not cease to value good things on Earth, they merely no longer appeal to him.³⁴

Surprisingly, Clement does not identify this “true desire” with love. He does not perceive love as a desire, but the fulfilment of the desire for the relationship—love embodies this relationship (οἰκεῖωσις) itself.³⁵ And it is only this relationship with God that is the mature motivation of a Christian:

A Gnostic is the one who understands and comprehends. His proper action is not to abandon evil—it is only a first step in a great progress. It does not consist in doing good deeds out of fear . . . or for the hope for promised glory . . . A Gnostic decides to do good out of love, for the sake of goodness itself. . . . Knowledge itself suffices for him as the reason for contemplation. . . . If, purely hypothetically, a Gnostic was to

29 Cf. *Strom.* I 1, 9,3–4. Clement interprets those *treasures in heaven* (Matt 6:20; Luke 12:33) as a certain reward for gifts to the poor and needy. Often, however, when referring to Matt 6:20 he means such a higher reward: *Paed.* III 6, 36, 2; 12, 87, 3; *Strom.* IV 6, 33, 7; V 4, 23, 2; VII 7, 41, 8.

30 *Strom.* IV 6, 40, 2; V 6, 40, 1; VII 3, 13, 1; 11, 68, 1–3.

31 *Strom.* IV 3, 9, 1; 4, 14, 2; VI 9, 73, 3,6; VII 3, 19, 2; 21, 2; 11, 68, 3. In *Strom.* III 6, 56, 2 (cited above); *Quis dives* 13, 3 and *Paed.* III 6, 34, 3.

32 *Strom.* V 6, 40, 1; cf. *Paed.* I 6, 29, 3.

33 Cf. e.g., *Strom.* VII 7, 48, 7; 11, 60, 2; *Ecl.* 33, 1–2.

34 *Strom.* IV 23, 148, 2; VII 12, 78, 3.

35 *Strom.* VI 9, 73, 3–6.

choose which he would like to choose, the knowledge of God, or eternal salvation, distinguishing between these two things, which, in actual fact, are absolutely identical, then he would not hesitate to choose the knowledge of God, because he would conclude that the thing to be chosen for its own sake is the specific capacity of faith to achieve knowledge through love.³⁶

Hence, Clement believes that a Christian should radically abandon ἐπιθυμία. Furthermore, it is indeed necessary to feel the desire for the general biblical promises of salvation, healing and eternal rewards for faithfulness. Nevertheless, there is a certain point when the Christian is invited to “enter the knowledge” of God,³⁷ not in order to achieve something, but purely for the sake of the knowledge itself, i.e. for love. Clement’s ideal of a perfect Gnostic who achieves the eternal goal involves being completely free of desires, needs as well as hopes; not because he would proudly abandon all of his needs and stay self-sufficient forever, but because he achieves the fulfilment of all of his good desires in his relationship with God.

Those gnostic (γνωστικαί) souls . . . eternally reap the fruit of eternal exultation (ἡ αἰδὶος εὐφροσύνη) and they are honored (τετιμημένοι) with dwelling as one with the highest Majesty for never ending times.³⁸ This is the substance of the gnostic contemplation of all of those who are pure in their hearts (Matt 5:8).³⁹

He who by love is already in the midst of that in which he will be and has anticipated the object of his hope (τὴν ἐλπίδα προεληφώς) by knowledge, does not desire anything, having as far as possible the very thing desired (οὐδὲ ὀρέγεται τινος, ἔχων ὡς οἶον τε αὐτὸ τὸ ὀρεκτόν).⁴⁰

Hence, Clement would probably agree with the statement that human desires will gradually be attenuated in the life of a Christian and that there is no place for them in *visio beatifica*. Nevertheless, I believe that the emphasis he places

36 *Strom.* IV 22, 135, 1–136, 5.

37 Cf. *Strom.* VII 6, 41, 7.

38 Clement uses the term ὑπεροχή both in relation to the spiritual life of a man, in the sense of “progress, degree, position” (VII 2, 10, 1; 10, 57, 5), and also when referring to God, in the sense of the “highest excellence, majesty” (in *Strom.* VII 2, 5, 3, these are the attributes ascribed to the nature of the Son; cf. also 5, 28, 2 and 12, 78, 7).

39 *Strom.* VII 3, 13, 1.

40 *Strom.* VI 9, 73, 4.

on the abandonment of desires does not stem only from his conformity with his philosophical contemporaries, but also from the biblical tradition.

3 Love of Enemies: The Desire which will Remain Unfulfilled?

If we remain on the level of the individual human life and its personal relationship with God, this conclusion may suffice. But a question arises in relation to the desire for the salvation and healing of others. Does Clement believe that this Christian desire passes too? Does a Christian in *visio beatifica*, cease to care about his human friends and enemies? Will he exchange love of them for heavenly joy?

Clement, who hesitates to pronounce on the most delicate issues of Christian teaching “by giving a simple presentation of the truth,”⁴¹ does not provide a clear answer to this question in his extant writings. In his considerations of the problem of the existence of evil and how this relates to the will of God—unity with which is the goal of the Gnostic—he ponders the paradox, but is not willing to take (or write down) any clear position.

I have suggested above that Clement may have failed to mention some parts of the Sermon on the Mount because they raise the question of evil, a question to which he is wary of publishing a hasty response. The sections of the Sermon I have in mind are as follows:

- a) statements, from which it could be possible to deduce that the innermost human self is somehow “automatically” infected with evil, that humans are born completely corrupted and evil in the heart:
 - in Matt 5:28 Clement never quotes ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ;
 - or mentions Matt 6:23b: *If therefore the light that is in you is darkness, how great is the darkness!*
 - in Matt 7:16–18 on trees and fruit, Clement relates this to speech, as a fruit of thinking, doctrine and knowledge; he never speaks of an individual as of a bad tree that cannot but *bear bad fruit*;
 - in Matt 5:29–30 he always speaks about *cutting off* (ἐκκοψον) eyes, limbs, desires and passions, not of *tearing out* and *throwing away*—is it only by chance, or is this again an indication of his aversion to the idea that something bad could exist “inside” a man, and that it must be taken out of his innermost being?

41 *Strom.* VII 18, III, 3.

- b) statements which could imply that a man who fails in some way will never again get a chance to reform:
 - that he will be *thrown out and trampled under feet by men* (Matt 5:13c);
 - that someone who is open to Christ can be told *I never knew you; depart from me!* (Matt 7:22–23);
 - that he will be held in prison by force, until he pays his debt (Matt 5:25c–26);
 - Matt 5:43b: *You have heard that it was said: “You shall... hate your enemy.”*
 - Matt 7:19: *Every tree that does not bear good fruit is cut down and thrown into the fire.*
- c) statements that mention the destruction of a man who follows the Law, but offends against “gospel perfection,” as enunciated in the Sermon on the Mount:
 - Clement warns against anger and insults as a “spiritual murder,” but he does not say that a man who commits such an offence *shall be guilty enough to go into the fiery hell* (Matt 5:22d);
 - not even in the case of such a highlighted sin of (spiritual) adultery, does he present the threat that *your whole body will be thrown into hell* (Matt 5:29d.30e);
 - nor does he acknowledge Matthew’s idea that personal forgiveness is a necessary condition to God’s forgiveness (Matt 5:23–24, 6:15);⁴²
 - he does not mention the parable about a speck and a log (Matt 7:3–5);
 - he does not declare that *few are those who find* (Matt 7:14b) the small gate and the narrow way that leads to life;
 - nor does he mention the parable of the house on the rock and the house built on sand (Matt 7:24–27a).
- d) statements about answered prayers that are difficult to interpret
 - he does not mention Matt 7:8a: *Everyone who asks receives;*
 - or the comparison of the heavenly Father with human fathers who would not, after all, provide their children with a stone instead of bread or a snake instead of fish (Matt 7:9–10).

For Clement, a person is not a mere victim of innate evil. He strongly disagrees with Valentinus’ idea of an inborn inner corruption of the human heart, which

⁴² Clement doesn’t even mention Matthew’s parable of the unmerciful servant (Matt 18:23–35)!

is fully controlled by demons.⁴³ Unlike Valentinus, Clement refuses to admit that the human heart could be initially left without God's care and that in its innermost part it could somehow be automatically infected with evil, passively waiting for liberation and purification. With reference to Barnabas, he proves that through their behaviour, sinners themselves become similar to demons, instead of demons being present inside the human soul and acting "on behalf" of man.⁴⁴

According to Clement, evil powers can affect the human heart, either through hidden manipulation or force.⁴⁵ While it is soft and yielding, they "impress" their image (i.e. the similarity in conduct) on it and Clement believes that no man, except for the Incarnate One, can fully avoid such "external" contamination with evil. But evil powers never have free access *into* the human heart.⁴⁶ Only those who choose evil on a completely voluntary basis, become evil by nature—in the depth of their heart. For Clement the biblical word "heart" stands for the human will.⁴⁷

Therefore, we should not say he who does injustice and sins transgresses under the influence of demons (κατ' ἐνέργειαν δαιμόνων). In such a case, he would bear no responsibility. A man who commits a sin chooses the same things as demons: he is unsteady, thoughtless and changeable in his desires (ἐπιθυμῖαι) like a demon, thus becoming demonic (γίνεται ἄνθρωπος δαιμονικός). Then the one who is evil in his nature (καχὸς φύσει), having become sinful due to vice (καχίαν), has become evil since he possesses the evil that he himself has chosen.⁴⁸

Clement presents explicit statements that there are (or could be) cases when a man *becomes* evil by his nature (φύσει), only in exceptional circumstances.⁴⁹ In the vast majority of cases Clement avoids statements on the innermost, complete and thus also incurable wickedness of created beings, which would imply their ultimate corruption. Nevertheless, there are exceptions. For example, Clement does not hesitate to recall the statement from *John's Gospel* regarding

43 *Strom.* II 20, 114.

44 *Strom.* II 20, 117, 1; *Barn.* 16:7; *Strom.* VI 12, 98, 1.

45 *Strom.* II 6, 26, 3.

46 *Strom.* II 20, 110, 1–3.

47 *Strom.* II 19, 98, 1; cf. *Ecl.* 65.

48 *Strom.* VI 12, 98, 1–2; cf. *Ecl.* 46, 1.

49 Cf. for example *Strom.* II 15, 64, 3.5.

the parable about the vine and its barren branches that will be removed and cast into fire:

In a truly divine manner and with real ardour John says: *Everyone who hates his brother is a murderer* (1 John 3:15).⁵⁰ Cain's seedline, the devil's nursling, does not possess the gentle heart of God, does not have hope for a better future, is barren and without offspring, not a branch of a heavenly vine that will live forever (οὐκ ἔστι κλήμα τῆς αἰῆς ζωῆς ὑπερουρανίας ἀμπέλου), but will be discarded and only destined to sudden/continuous fire (τὸ πῦρ αἰθρουν, cf. John 15:5f).⁵¹

The question is whether this statement implies a certain pedagogical lie: the concealment of Clement's belief in the general ἀποκατάστασις and universal salvation at the end of time—the thoughtful act of the “covering of a well,” “concealment of a living spring in the depth” from people, who would fall into the well like into a trap, because they would be “unable to handle the truth”⁵²—or whether it is truly the expression of Clement's deepest belief about the possible tragic consequences of the human decision to become estranged from God.⁵³

Clement believes that salvation, as the continuation of human life after death, is intended for all the faithful people,⁵⁴ not only for a small group of the chosen (as might be deduced from Matt 7:14b). Clement does not denounce people who do not opt for the radical conversion to “gospel perfection” implied

50 1 John 3:15: *All who hate a brother or sister are murderers, and you know that murderers do not have eternal life abiding in them.*

51 *Quis dives* 37, 6; similarly in *Quis div.* 33, 3; *Adumbr.* III 3, 12.15–16; *Paed.* I 8, 66, 4. Cf. also *Paed.* I 8, 65, 2, where Clement likens God, who is both good and punishing, to a commander, thus allowing for the possibility of a “death penalty.”

52 *Strom.* V 8, 54, 1–3, Exod 21:33f. See Judith L. Kovacs, “Divine Pedagogy and the Gnostic Teacher according to Clement of Alexandria,” *The Journal of Early Christian Studies* 9 (2001) 3–25, here 18–25; *eadem*, “Concealment and Gnostic Exegesis: Clement of Alexandria's Interpretation of the Tabernacle,” *SP* 31, 1995, str. 414–37.

53 Cf. *Strom.* IV 13, 94, 1. On the contrary Ramelli is convinced that Clement expects the ultimate ἀποκατάστασις πάντων, cf. Ilaria Ramelli, “Stromateis VII and Clement's Hints at the Theory of *Apokatastasis*,” in M. Havrda, V. Hušek and J. Plátová (eds.), *The Seventh Book of the Stromateis*, 239–60.

54 I agree with Itter that, according to Clement, “all people have some pre-conception or faith in a superior being and therefore are capable of partaking in the one universal salvation,” Andrew C. Itter, *Esoteric Teaching in the Stromateis of Clement of Alexandria* (VChr Suppl. 97; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 184.

in the Sermon on the Mount and who instead, for example, demand the punishment of those who treat them unjustly;⁵⁵ he does not say that they will be deprived of God's forgiveness and *thrown into hell*.⁵⁶

Nevertheless, "true [or complete] salvation,"⁵⁷ the vision face to face, is promised to those with whom God is pleased, since they, by accepting the counsels of the gospel, are in union with his will:

*Nevertheless, not all men have this knowledge. I do not want you to be unaware, brethren, that our fathers were all under the cloud, and all ate the same spiritual food, says the Apostle, clearly expressing that not all who hear the Word can grasp the vastness of knowledge through their deeds and reason. Hence, he continues: But with most of them he was not well-pleased. (1 Cor 8:7; 10:1.3f; 10:5) Who? The one, who said: Why do you say to me "Lord," and do not do the will of My Father? (Matt 7:21par.), that is the Saviour's teaching, which to us is spiritual food and drink that knows no thirst, the water of gnostic life.*⁵⁸

It is entirely clear that the idea of God's provident care for all people is one of Clement's most cherished ideas. He believes that God wishes that all people would find salvation. Therefore, to become unified with God's will means to *love your enemies* (Matt 5:44). Only in this sense is it possible to become *perfect as your heavenly Father* (Matt 5:48).⁵⁹

55 *Strom.* VII 14, 84, 5–7.

56 A rather conspicuous omission in the allusions to the Sermon on the Mount is the saying about the speck and the log (Matt 7:3–5). Clement possibly omits this saying because he does not want to impose the idea that a Christian believer has a debt toward God, which makes him unable to "see with his own eyes." At the moment of baptism, ἄφεσις occurs and the baptized person is suddenly provided with the nobility and safety of the relationship—although there is still a long way towards the healing of his soul which he will have to manage using his own resources (cf. e.g., *Paed.* I 2, 6, 5).

57 Cf. *Strom.* VI 14, III, 3: ὁρθῶς καὶ δεόντως σφῆξεν translated by Spanneut, as "le salut correct et normal," cf. Michel Spanneut, "L'apatheia chrétienne aux quatre premiers siècles," *POC* 52 (2002) 246–61, here 250. Cf. also *Strom* VI 14, 109, 2. Similarly also Osborn uses the phrase "normal salvation" for full salvation of a Gnostic when interpreting Clement's explication; cf. Eric F. Osborn, *Clement of Alexandria* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 239.

58 *Strom.* VII 16, 104, 3–4. Cf. Rev 21:6, 22:17 (water of life); 1 Cor 10:3 (spiritual food), John 4:14 (drink that quenches thirst forever). According to John 4:34, Jesus refuses the food with the words *My food is to do the will of him who sent me and to complete his work*.

59 Clement's most frequent biblical citations include the statement from Ezekiel: *I take no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but rather that they turn from their ways.* (cf. Ezek 33:11)

Love of enemies is, above all, based on respect: as shown above, Clement is careful not to mention Matthew's comparison of Christians with tax collectors, pagans and hypocrites. He never offers the idea to his readers that the Christian has to surpass someone else (Matt 5:46b–47; 6:2a; 6:5a; 6:7b–8a; 6:16a) or that he himself (not, e.g., the apostles) should serve as an example for others (Matt 5:16c). He even recommends that Christians not be arrogant towards the tempter, when defeating him.⁶⁰

On the other hand, Clement's repeated explicit statements that only the Gnostic's prayers can be answered may seem rather disrespectful and elitist:

Only a Gnostic can have his prayers granted (because they are in harmony with God's will), be they expressed or only in his mind. God is omnipotent, and a Gnostic receives anything he prays for. God knows exactly who is worthy of good things and who is not, therefore he provides everyone with what is appropriate to him. Hence, he does not grant the wishes of those who often plead, but are not found worthy, but instead, to those who have been found worthy.⁶¹

Not only does Clement not quote Matt 7:8a: *Everyone who asks receives*, but he also clearly makes the opposite point.

Let us, however, take a closer look at this statement. Clement's Gnostic is primarily a Christian, who accepts the requirements of the Sermon on the Mount: who forgives his debtors and, in union with his Father's will, loves his enemies.⁶² Clement believes that those who remain mere "faithful servants" will be saved, as mentioned above—but the promises contained in Jesus' Sermon do not fully apply to them.

and even more often, Clement notes that God *makes his sun rise on the evil and on the good, and sends rain on the righteous and the unrighteous* (Matt 5:45).

60 *Strom.* IV 4, 13, 1.

61 *Strom.* VII 7, 41, 3–5. Several chapters later (*Strom.* VII 7, 49, 2–3), he even makes this seemingly harsh statement: "But also it becomes him to make all his prayers fairly with fair people. For it is a dangerous thing to take part in (συνεπιγράφεσθαι) others' sins. Accordingly, the Gnostic will pray along with those whose faith is more common only for those things in respect of which it is his duty to act together with them." At the first sight, it even seems as if Clement wanted to protect his Gnostic from "getting dirty" from the prayer of a man who is not sufficiently holy.

62 In *Paed.* I 7, 54, 2, Clement puts this thought more prosaically: "Whatever we ask in accordance with reason from God to be done for us, will happen to those who believe in the Instructor."

For it is possible, in fact, to err even in prayer: by uttering a curse, or even by an immature demand for heavenly justice:

The Apostle... does not allow for prayers to be raised against someone who committed injustice, because he knows that the Lord directly instructed to pray for the enemies.⁶³ He asserts that *to go to law before the unrighteous* (1 Cor 6:1) when an injustice is committed against us does not imply anything else than the expression of the desire for vengeance and the will to repay the injustice to the offender, i.e. to commit injustice too. Nevertheless, if he says that some want to *be judged by the saints* (1 Cor 6:1), he refers to those who ask for revenge for grievances by their persecutors in prayer. He believes these people to be better than the former, but does not regard them as spiritually healthy (ἀπαθής) yet, as they do not entirely forget about evil and do not pray for the enemies, as instructed by the Lord.⁶⁴

It is obvious that Clement's Gnostic would not want to "sign onto" such a prayer.⁶⁵

A Gnostic prays (just as does Christ) in accordance with God's will—loving his friends and enemies. And therefore it is to him (and only him) that is given all that he prays for (1 John 5:14):

The task of a Gnostic is, for example, thanksgiving and prayer for the conversion of his neighbours. This was also the Lord's prayer: he was thankful for completing his service, and prayed that as many people as possible could obtain knowledge, that God reveals his glory through those who have been saved, who have come to be rescued through knowledge, and that the only One who is good (Matt 19:17par), the only Saviour, is known through the Son, from everlasting to everlasting.⁶⁶

God told the Lord: *Ask of me, and I will surely give the nations as your inheritance.* (Ps 2:8) He wishes that he makes a prayer truly worthy of a

63 Cf. Matt 5:44 or the extended version of Luke 6:27f; however, Clement abbreviates Jesus utterance in the simple form of "pray for your enemies".

64 *Strom.* VII 14, 84, 5–7; cf. *Adumbr.* IV 11.

65 Cf. *Strom.* VII 7, 49, 2. His participation would hardly do any harm to himself, but it would be dangerous to others, who could get the impression that this Christian approves of such an attitude during prayer.

66 *Strom.* VII 7, 41, 6–8.

king—that he asks for the salvation of the man without claiming remuneration, so that we inherit and obtain the Lord.⁶⁷

A prayer of petition is indeed the expression of a desire:

Prayers relate to the same thing as wishes (αἰτήσεις), and wishes relate to the same thing as desires (ἐπιθυμίας). . . . Prayer and desire (ὁρέγεσθαι) are interdependent actions aimed at possessing goods and potential benefits. A Gnostic therefore prays incessantly and asks for real goods that concern the soul.⁶⁸

Nevertheless, the desire of an intercessory prayer does not fall within any of the three above-described types of desire. It is a desire that, in addition to not being self-centred, is no longer a “hunger:” it does not strive to satisfy, to any extent, legitimate or noble needs of the person praying, but is related purely to the benefit of a third person: true goodness for this person, his/her spiritual needs and salvation. Will this desire, “worthy of a king,”⁶⁹ be satisfied in eternity? And if the sovereign task of a Gnostic—following the example of God’s Son himself—is “to thank and pray for the conversion of others,”⁷⁰ and if the Gnostic’s prayer (and even more so the prayer of God’s Son) is always answered, does that imply that all people will once convert and find salvation? For some reason, Clement avoids drawing such simple conclusions. Despite all his optimism, he is clearly aware of the tragic aspect of the paradox of evil existing despite God’s will, which always means goodness, love and forgiveness.

More generally, while Clement describes well the heroic and purifying aspects of suffering, he is largely silent about its tragic implications.⁷¹ He

67 *Strom.* IV 22, 136, 1.

68 *Strom.* VII 7, 38, 2.3.

69 *Strom* IV 22, 136, 1.

70 *Strom.* VII 7, 41, 6.

71 According to W.E.G. Floyd, *Clement of Alexandria's Treatment of the Problem of Evil* (Oxford Theological Monographs, Oxford: OUP, 1971), xix, Clement “is not immune to the agonizing reality of the problem of evil”; in Clement’s view “evil rightly used can assist man in his pursuit of God. In spite of this coolly reasoned defence of evil which views it not as something inexpedient but as serving a function in God’s providential design, the realities of evil are no less cruel” (*ibid.*, 95). Nevertheless, this topic is little emphasised in Clement’s work. It would be interesting to know how Clement’s thinking on this problem developed in his advanced age and after his painful experience of leaving his spiritual home in Alexandria, where his close friends and beloved pupils were perhaps tortured, and where he had to leave his didactical work unfinished.

vigorously opposes Basilides and insists that Jesus' suffering and the prosecution of Christians results neither from God's will, nor from the fact that God would not be able to prevent it.⁷² Furthermore, there are situations when suffering does not follow from the sin of the sufferer (e.g., Christ's victimisation or Christian martyrdom) and when it does not even function as a purifying training of the sufferer (in the case of Christ, the apostles and new-borns). Nevertheless, Clement suddenly breaks off this promising train of thought and concludes with a statement so typical of him: "There is still a lot left to add to this topic, let us leave its detailed discussion for a more suitable time."⁷³ This detailed discussion, however, probably never took place, at least not in any known written treatise.

Only minor hints indicate that Clement regards a "brother's pain as his own pain,"⁷⁴ that he takes human pain from the loss of a close person seriously,⁷⁵ that he is familiar with the tears of the prayer of intercession and prays for those who are exposed to suffering:⁷⁶

(A Gnostic) asks God, he does not have to plead. And when his brothers are caught up in need . . . he will pray to have their needs provided for. . . . Penury, diseases and such trials often serve as an admonition, for the correction of the past and care for the future. When the Gnostic prays for relief from them . . . he himself works beneficence, having become the instrument of the goodness of God.⁷⁷

The Gnostic's brethren are therefore exposed to trials to be admonished and trained by God,⁷⁸ but the Gnostic pleads for their relief, thus becoming the instrument of the goodness of God. Is his plea for them in accordance with the will of the punishing God?⁷⁹ Is this a prayer following Christ's example?

Clement's next statement is even more radical:

The Gnostic prays to get a share in the sins of his brethren, in order to achieve confession and conversion on the part of his kindred

72 *Strom.* IV 12, 86, 1–2.

73 *Strom.* IV 13, 89, 1.

74 *Strom.* VII 12, 78, 1.

75 *Strom.* II 23, 142, 2.

76 *Quis dives* 35, 1; *Strom.* VII 12, 79, 4–5; *Quis dives* 34, 3.

77 *Strom.* VII 13, 81, 4–7.

78 Cf. e.g., *Paed.* I 8, 64, 3.

79 Cf. *agrafon* cited in *Strom.* VII 12, 74, 5: "Whom I will strike, do you pity."

(cf. Rom 9:3), and he is eager (προθυμούμενος) to give a share of his own good things to those dearest to him... He lives in spirit with those who are like him, among the choirs of the saints, though still detained on earth.⁸⁰

Does that therefore mean that a Gnostic, although innocent and already a part of the heavenly choir of saints, even longs to be (following Christ's example) punished together with the erring ones so that they can share goodness with him?⁸¹ Will his (and Christ's) desire for goodness on behalf of others—desire that is in unity with God's will—be fulfilled?⁸² Also, will the love of his enemies become love in the sense defined by Clement, i.e. the fulfilment of desire in a relationship?⁸³ How, and at what price? This is impossible to deduce from Clement's surviving texts.

4 Conclusion

We have seen that the individual verses of the Sermon on the Mount are among the most frequently referenced passages of all the sources used by Clement. The most frequent references to this speech delivered by Jesus relate to two topics: human desires and the issue of God's and believer's attitude towards evil. The parts of the Sermon on the Mount which are not mentioned by Clement also relate mostly to these two topics. It seems probable that Clement deliberately concealed these parts of the Sermon, as he considered them to present a sort of *skandalon*, or trap, in which the believer's judgment could be ensnared when contemplating the above-mentioned topics.

80 *Strom.* VII 12, 80, 1.2.

81 Cf. *Quis dives* 42, 14. Also other less apparent hints indicate that the suffering of an innocent Christian may, according to Clement, have a certain value for his brethren (*Strom.* VII 12, 74, 3; 76, 2). Clement does not doubt for a moment then about the value of Jesus entirely innocent suffering for mankind (cf. e.g., *Paed.* II 8, 74, 4), although he "does not explore it in detail" in his extant works.

82 Cf. Itter, *Esoteric Teaching*, 200: "Clement uses the term *apokatastasis* and its cognates generally to refer to the gnostic elect rather than to an eschatological restoration of the universe, or to a restoration of the faithful as a whole. Where he does mention or imply a restoration of the whole it is through the medium of the restoration of the gnostic."

83 Cf. Osborn, *Clement*, 240: "There is no conflict between love and passionlessness, for love is not desire but the tender familiarity, which Clement identifies as appropriation or *oikeiosis*. Such love is directed not only to God but also to one's neighbour."

It seems that by means of his emphases of certain points within the Sermon and, on the other hand, his silences, Clement would like to express his views about four different kinds of human desire: first an improper desire for an apparent benefit, which is the source of all evil and which must be rejected by the Christian, second a desire for a real personal benefit, i.e. a desire for the fulfilment of God's promises. This desire is admissible and legitimate, but it is rejected by the Christian, who becomes a Gnostic and moves on to the third kind of desire: the longing for a relationship with God. The last, fourth desire follows the third one: it is the desire for a real benefit of other people, which consists in their relationship with God. All of these desires are temporary: some of them must or should be abandoned, whereas the others will be fulfilled. It should then be obvious that Clement's views on desire (as well as his concept of ἀπάθεια) do not stem only from his Greek philosophical sources; they are also deeply influenced by the biblical text.

The reason for Clement's failure to mention some parts of Jesus Sermon on the Mount seems to be Clement's caution about discussing controversial issues relating to evil. His omission of statements that could imply the eternal repudiation of some persons appears to be intentional. Moreover, the notion that God wishes to rescue sinners is emphasised repeatedly. On the other hand, Clement's work does not avoid stating that those who cease to love "are not the branches of the heavenly vine that live forever." The question remains open.

But, "when criminals are being punished in the stadium, it is not for children to behold," says Clement.⁸⁴ On the suffering of others, however deserved, the Child of God and His adopted brethren cannot stand to look. But in unity with God's will, they will do anything to have it eliminated.

Types of desire		End of the desire Matt 5–7par.		
ἐπιθυμία	Desire for an apparent benefit	a) Sin against the commandment οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις (Exod 20:17)	Rejection: the first μετάνοια	Very frequent ref.: 5:28a
		b) Sin against the "gospel perfection" (Matt 5:28)	Healing: purity of the heart	Very frequent ref.: 5:3a; 5:8; 5:28a

84 *Strom.* VII 12, 74, 6.

(cont.)

Types of desire			End of the desire Matt 5–7par.	
ἐλπίς (πόθος, ἔρωσ, ὄρεξις)	Desire for rewards from God	Legitimate desire of an immature Christian	Disposal: the second μετάνοια	Very frequent ref.: 6:20par.; 7:7; not mentioned: promises of reward
Blessed hunger and thirst (ἐλπίς, πόθος, ὄρεξις)	Desire for a relationship with God	True desire of the Gnostic	Fulfilment: love as a rela- tionship with God	Very frequent ref.: 5:6a; 5:9a
Intercessory prayer	Desire for a real benefit of other people	True desire of the Gnostic	Fulfilment: love as a relationship with all people in God?	Very frequent ref.: 5:44; 5:45; 5:48; 7:21; not mentioned: comparison with “worse people” evil versus God’s will

Appendix 1: References to the Sermon on the Mount and Parallel Texts in the Sequence of the Sermon

C, Ad, All, In = citations, adaptations, allusions, or indeterminable references according to Cosaert; * = free allusion; () = the gospel text quoted or alluded by Clement's opponents,⁸⁵

Matt 5:3	<i>Quis dives</i> 16, 3	All	Matt 5:5	<i>Strom.</i> IV 6, 36, 1	C
Matt 5:3	<i>Quis dives</i> 17, 5	C	Matt 5:6	<i>Strom.</i> I 1, 7, 2	All
Matt 5:3	<i>Quis dives</i> 19, 2	All	Matt 5:6	<i>Strom.</i> IV 6, 25, 2	All
Matt 5:3 / Luke 6:20	<i>Strom.</i> II 5, 22, 4	In	Matt 5:6	<i>Strom.</i> IV 6, 26, 2	Ad
Matt 5:3 / Luke 6:20	<i>Strom.</i> IV 6, 25, 2	In	Matt 5:6	<i>Strom.</i> IV 6, 26, 3	All
Matt 5:3 / Luke 6:20	<i>Strom.</i> IV 6, 26, 3	In	Matt 5:6	<i>Strom.</i> V 1, 12, 2	*
Matt 5:3 / Luke 6:20	<i>Strom.</i> IV 6, 26, 4	*	Matt 5:6	<i>Strom.</i> V 11, 70, 1	Ad
Matt 5:3 / Luke 6:20	<i>Strom.</i> IV 6, 34, 1	In	Matt 5:6	<i>Ecl.</i> 14, 4	Ad
Matt 5:3 / Luke 6:20	<i>Quis dives</i> 11, 3	*	Matt 5:6	<i>Quis dives</i> 17, 5	Ad
Matt 5:3 / Luke 6:20	<i>Quis dives</i> 17, 1	*	Matt 5:7	<i>Paed.</i> III 12, 92, 2	Ad
Matt 5:3 / Luke 6:20; Matt 5:10	<i>Protr.</i> 10, 99, 4	In	Matt 5:7	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 91, 2	All
Matt 5:3-12 / Luke 6:20-23	<i>Strom.</i> II 13, 59, 3	*	Matt 5:7	<i>Strom.</i> IV 6, 38, 1	C
Matt 5:3-12 / Luke 6:20-23	<i>Ecl.</i> 12, 1	*	Matt 5:8	<i>Protr.</i> 1, 10, 2	*
Matt 5:4	<i>Strom.</i> IV 6, 37, 5	C	Matt 5:8	<i>Paed.</i> I 1, 3, 3	*
Matt 5:4 / Luke 6:21	<i>Strom.</i> IV 6, 26, 1	In	Matt 5:8	<i>Paed.</i> II 1, 1, 2-3	*
Matt 5:5	<i>Protr.</i> 10, 94, 4	*	Matt 5:8	<i>Paed.</i> III 11, 79, 3	*

85 In the case of *Exc.*, I follow François Sagnard's "Table analytique des citations," *Clément d'Alexandrie, Extraits de Théodote* (sc 23; Paris: Cerf, 2006), 241–54.

Matt 5:8	<i>Strom.</i> I 19, 94, 6	All	Matt 5:9	<i>Strom.</i> IV 6, 40, 2	C
Matt 5:8	<i>Strom.</i> II 11, 50, 2	C	Matt 5:9	<i>Strom.</i> IV 6, 40, 3	*
Matt 5:8	<i>Strom.</i> II 20, 104, 2	*	Matt 5:9	<i>Strom.</i> IV 6, 41, 2	C
Matt 5:8	<i>Strom.</i> II 20, 114, 3–6	(*)	Matt 5:9	<i>Strom.</i> IV 16, 104, 1	*
Matt 5:8	<i>Strom.</i> IV 6, 39, 1	Ad	Matt 5:9	<i>Strom.</i> VII 11, 68, 1	*
Matt 5:8	<i>Strom.</i> IV 6, 39, 4	*	Matt 5:9	<i>Strom.</i> VII 11, 68, 3	*
Matt 5:8	<i>Strom.</i> V 1, 7, 7	Ad	Matt 5:9	<i>Strom.</i> VII 16, 93, 5	*
Matt 5:8	<i>Strom.</i> V 6, 40, 1	*	Matt 5:9	<i>Strom.</i> VII 16, 100, 5	*
Matt 5:8	<i>Strom.</i> VI 12, 102, 2	All	Matt 5:9 / John 1:12; Rom 8:15–17;	<i>Protr.</i> 2, 27, 3	*
Matt 5:8	<i>Strom.</i> VI 14, 108, 1	All	8:21–23; Gal 3:23–4:7; Eph 1:5		
Matt 5:8	<i>Strom.</i> VII 3, 13, 1	All	Matt 5:9 / John 1:12; Rom 8:15–17;	<i>Strom.</i> IV 21, 132, 1	*
Matt 5:8	<i>Strom.</i> VII 3, 19, 2	All	8:21–23; Gal 3:23–4:7; Eph 1:5		
Matt 5:8	<i>Strom.</i> VII 7, 49, 1	*	Matt 5:9 / John 1:12; Rom 8:15–17;	<i>Strom.</i> VII 14, 88, 3	*
Matt 5:8	<i>Strom.</i> VII 10, 56, 5	All	8:21–23; Gal 3:23–4:7; Eph 1:5		
Matt 5:8	<i>Strom.</i> VII 10, 57, 1	All	Matt 5:9 / John 1:12; Rom 8:15–17;	<i>Ecl.</i> 20, 2	*
Matt 5:8	<i>Strom.</i> VII 11, 68, 4	All	8:21–23; Gal 3:23–4:7; Eph 1:5		
Matt 5:8	<i>Ecl.</i> 32, 3	*	Matt 5:9 / John 1:12; Rom 8:15–17;	<i>Quis dives</i> 9, 2	*
Matt 5:8	<i>Quis dives</i> 16, 2	*	8:21–23; Gal 3:23–4:7; Eph 1:5		
Matt 5:8	<i>Quis dives</i> 19, 3	All	Matt 5:9 / John 1:12; Rom 8:15–17;	<i>Quis dives</i> 36, 2	*
Matt 5:8	<i>Exc.</i> 11, 1	C	8:21–23; Gal 3:23–4:7; Eph 1:5		
Matt 5:8	<i>Exc.</i> 27, 4	*	Matt 5:10	<i>Strom.</i> IV 6, 25, 1	C
Matt 5:8	<i>Adumbr.</i> II 24	All	Matt 5:10	<i>Strom.</i> IV 6, 26, 2	Ad
Matt 5:9	<i>Strom.</i> I 1, 7, 2	C	Matt 5:10	<i>Strom.</i> IV 6, 41, 2	C
Matt 5:9	<i>Strom.</i> III 10, 69, 4	*	Matt 5:10	<i>Strom.</i> IV 6, 41, 3	*

Matt 5:10	<i>Strom.</i> IV 9, 75, 4	*	Matt 5:18	<i>Protr.</i> 9, 82, 1	Ad
Matt 5:10	<i>Strom.</i> IV 21, 131, 1	*	Matt 5:18	<i>fr.</i> 58	All
Matt 5:10	<i>Strom.</i> VII 11, 67, 2	*	Matt 5:18	<i>fr.</i> 58	Ad
Luke 6:22 (Matt 5:11)	<i>Strom.</i> IV 6, 41, 3	Ad	Matt 5:19	<i>Strom.</i> II 19, 97, 2	Ad
Matt 5:13	<i>Paed.</i> III 11, 82, 4	Ad	Matt 5:19	<i>Strom.</i> IV 17, 108, 2	*
Matt 5:13	<i>Strom.</i> I 8, 41, 3	Ad	Matt 5:20	<i>Strom.</i> III 4, 33, 3	Ad
Matt 5:13	<i>Quis dives</i> 36, 1	C	Matt 5:20	<i>Strom.</i> VI 15, 115, 3	C
Matt 5:14	<i>Paed.</i> I 9, 84, 3	*	Matt 5:20	<i>Strom.</i> VI 18, 164, 2	Ad
Matt 5:14	<i>Strom.</i> IV 11, 80, 3	All	Matt 5:20	<i>Strom.</i> VII 10, 56, 2	*
Matt 5:14	<i>Quis dives</i> 36, 1	C	Matt 5:21-22	<i>Strom.</i> VII 11, 60, 4	*
Matt 5:14	<i>Exc.</i> 9, 3	C	Matt 5:21-22 / Matt 5:27-28	<i>Strom.</i> VII 12, 76, 1	*
Matt 5:15 / Mark 4:21;			Matt 5:21-22 / Matt 5:27-28	<i>Strom.</i> VII 14, 86, 3	*
Luke 8:16; 11:33	<i>Strom.</i> I 1, 12, 3	In	Matt 5:22	<i>Paed.</i> II 6, 50, 2	All
Matt 5:16	<i>Strom.</i> III 4, 36, 4	All	Matt 5:25	<i>Strom.</i> IV 14, 95, 2	C
Matt 5:16	<i>Strom.</i> IV 26, 171, 2	All	Matt 5:25	<i>Strom.</i> IV 14, 95, 3	Ad
Matt 5:16	<i>Strom.</i> VII 14, 86, 5	*	Matt 5:25	<i>Exc.</i> 52, 1	(*)
Matt 5:16	<i>Quis dives</i> 1, 4	*	Matt 5:25	<i>Exc.</i> 52, 2	(*)
Matt 5:16	<i>Exc.</i> 3, 1	(C)	Matt 5:25 / Luke 12:58	<i>Quis dives</i> 40, 5	*
Matt 5:16	<i>Exc.</i> 41, 3	(C)	Luke 12:58 (Matt 5:25)	<i>Strom.</i> III 4, 36, 1	All
Matt 5:17	<i>Protr.</i> 10, 108, 5	*	Matt 5:27	<i>Strom.</i> III 2, 8, 4	Ad
Matt 5:17	<i>Strom.</i> III 5, 46, 2	Ad	Matt 5:27	<i>Strom.</i> III 11, 71, 3	Ad
Matt 5:17	<i>Strom.</i> IV 18, 113, 5	*	Matt 5:27	<i>Strom.</i> III 11, 76, 2	*
Matt 5:17	<i>Strom.</i> IV 21, 130, 3	*	Matt 5:27-28 / Matt 5:21-22	<i>Strom.</i> VII 12, 76, 1	*
Matt 5:17	<i>Quis dives</i> 9, 2	*	Matt 5:27-28 / Matt 5:21-22	<i>Strom.</i> VII 14, 86, 3	*

Matt 5:28	<i>Protr.</i> 4, 61, 3	*	Matt 5:32 / Matt 19:9; Mark 10:11	<i>Strom.</i> III 23, 145, 3	In
Matt 5:28	<i>Protr.</i> 10, 108, 5	All	Matt 5:32 / Matt 19:9; Mark 10:11	<i>Strom.</i> II 23, 146, 2	In
Matt 5:28	<i>Paed.</i> III 5, 33, 2	All	Matt 5:32 / Matt 19:9; Mark 10:11	<i>Strom.</i> III 6, 47, 2	In
Matt 5:28	<i>Paed.</i> III 11, 70, 1–2	*	Matt 5:33	<i>Strom.</i> VII 8, 50, 4	*
Matt 5:28	<i>Paed.</i> III 11, 82, 5	*	Matt 5:34	<i>Strom.</i> V 14, 99, 2	*
Matt 5:28	<i>Strom.</i> II 11, 50, 2	Ad	Matt 5:34	<i>Strom.</i> VII 8, 50, 1	*
Matt 5:28	<i>Strom.</i> II 15, 66, 1	Ad	Matt 5:34	<i>Strom.</i> VII 8, 50, 5	*
Matt 5:28	<i>Strom.</i> II 14, 61, 3	All	Matt 5:36	<i>Paed.</i> III 3, 16, 4	Ad
Matt 5:28	<i>Strom.</i> III 2, 8, 4	Ad	Matt 5:37	<i>Paed.</i> II 10, 103, 2	*
Matt 5:28	<i>Strom.</i> IV 12, 82, 2	(*)	Matt 5:37	<i>Strom.</i> V 16, 99, 1	C
Matt 5:28	<i>Strom.</i> IV 18, 114, 2	Ad	Matt 5:37	<i>Strom.</i> VII 8, 50, 5	*
Matt 5:28	<i>Strom.</i> IV 18, 116, 1	All	Matt 5:37	<i>Strom.</i> VII 11, 67, 5	C
Matt 5:28	<i>Strom.</i> VII 11, 60, 4	*	Matt 5:38 / Exod 21:24; Lev 24:20	<i>Strom.</i> III 4, 37, 2	*
Matt 5:28	<i>Strom.</i> VII 12, 76, 6	*	Matt 5:38 / Exod 21:24; Lev 24:20	<i>Strom.</i> VIII 8, 30, 4	*
Matt 5:28	<i>Strom.</i> VII 13, 82, 3	*	Matt 5:39 / Luke 6:29	<i>Strom.</i> VII 14, 86, 3	*
Matt 5:29–30 / Matt 18:9;	<i>Paed.</i> III 11, 70, 1	In	Matt 5:39 / Luke 6:29	<i>Quis dives</i> 18, 4	*
Mark 9:43–47			Luke 6:29 (Matt 5:39–40)	<i>Protr.</i> 10, 108, 5	C
Matt 5:29–30 / Matt 18:9;	<i>Strom.</i> VII 12, 72, 4	*	Luke 6:29 (Matt 5:39–40)	<i>Paed.</i> III 12, 92, 3	Ad
Mark 9:43–47			Luke 6:29 (Matt 5:39–40)	<i>Strom.</i> IV 8, 61, 2	Ad
Matt 5:29–30 / Matt 18:9;	<i>Quis dives</i> 24, 2	In	Luke 6:29 (Matt 5:39–40)	<i>Strom.</i> IV 10, 77, 3	Ad
Mark 9:43–47			Matt 5:42	<i>Strom.</i> III 6, 54, 1	C
Matt 5:30 / Mark 9:43;	<i>Paed.</i> III 11, 83, 4	*	Matt 5:42	<i>Strom.</i> III 4, 27, 3	(Ad)
Luke 3:17			Matt 5:42 / Luke 6:30	<i>Strom.</i> VII 12, 69, 2	*
Matt 5:31 / Matt 19:7	<i>Strom.</i> III 6, 47, 2	*	Matt 5:42 / Luke 6:30	<i>Quis dives</i> 33, 2	*

Luke 6:30 (Matt 5:42)	<i>Quis dives</i> 31, 9	C	Matt 5:45	<i>Strom.</i> VI 3, 29, 2	Ad
Matt 5:44	<i>Strom.</i> IV 14, 95, 1	Ad	Matt 5:45	<i>Strom.</i> VII 14, 85, 2	All
Matt 5:44 / Luke 6:27	<i>Paed.</i> I 8, 70, 3	In	Matt 5:45	<i>Strom.</i> VII 14, 86, 5	All
Matt 5:44 / Luke 6:27	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 90, 1	In	Matt 5:45	<i>Exc.</i> 9, 3	Ad
Matt 5:44 / Luke 6:27	<i>Strom.</i> III 4, 36, 1	*	Luke 6:35 (Matt 5:45)	<i>Paed.</i> I 8, 72, 2	C
Matt 5:44 / Luke 6:27	<i>Strom.</i> IV 13, 93, 3	In	Matt 5:48	<i>Strom.</i> IV 22, 137, 3	Ad
Matt 5:44 / Luke 6:27	<i>Strom.</i> VII 8, 50, 4	*	Matt 5:48	<i>Strom.</i> VI 12, 104, 2	Ad
Matt 5:44 / Luke 6:27	<i>Strom.</i> VII 11, 62, 3	*	Matt 5:48	<i>Strom.</i> VI 14, 114, 6	*
Matt 5:44 / Luke 6:27	<i>Strom.</i> VII 12, 69, 2	*	Matt 5:48	<i>Strom.</i> VII 13, 81, 3	All
Matt 5:44 / Luke 6:27	<i>Strom.</i> VII 12, 74, 5	*	Matt 5:48	<i>Strom.</i> VII 14, 88, 4	Ad
Matt 5:44 / Luke 6:27	<i>Strom.</i> VII 14, 84, 5	In	Matt 5:48	<i>Strom.</i> VII 14, 88, 6	All
Matt 5:44 / Luke 6:27	<i>Strom.</i> VII 14, 84, 7	In	Matt 5:48	<i>Quis dives</i> 1, 2	*
Matt 5:44 / Luke 6:27	<i>Strom.</i> VII 14, 88, 4	*	Luke 6:36 (Matt 5:48)	<i>Paed.</i> I 8, 72, 2	C
Matt 5:44 / Luke 6:27	<i>Quis dives</i> 22, 3-4	In	Luke 6:36 (Matt 5:48)	<i>Strom.</i> II 20, 100, 4	Ad
Luke 6:27-28 (Matt 5:44)	<i>Paed.</i> III 12, 92, 3	All	Matt 6:1	<i>Strom.</i> I 9, 3	*
Luke 6:28 (Matt 5:44)	<i>Strom.</i> II 1, 2, 2	All	Matt 6:1	<i>Strom.</i> VI 7, 56, 2	*
Matt 5:45	<i>Protr.</i> 11, 114, 3	Ad	Matt 6:1	<i>Strom.</i> VII 7, 49, 6	*
Matt 5:45	<i>Paed.</i> I 8, 72, 2	All	Matt 6:1 / Matt 6:4	<i>Strom.</i> VII 13, 81, 5	*
Matt 5:45	<i>Paed.</i> I 8, 72, 3	Ad	Matt 6:2-4	<i>Strom.</i> IV 22, 138, 2	All
Matt 5:45	<i>Paed.</i> I 9, 88, 2	*	Matt 6:3	<i>Strom.</i> VII 13, 81, 5	*
Matt 5:45	<i>Strom.</i> III 2, 6, 2	*	Matt 6:5	<i>Strom.</i> VII 7, 49, 6	*
Matt 5:45	<i>Strom.</i> IV 14, 95, 1	C	Matt 6:6	<i>Paed.</i> III 11, 82, 3	All
Matt 5:45	<i>Strom.</i> IV 22, 137, 2	C	Matt 6:6	<i>Strom.</i> I 6, 34, 1	All
Matt 5:45	<i>Strom.</i> V 3, 18, 7	C	Matt 6:6	<i>Strom.</i> VII 7, 49, 7	All

Luke 12:24 (Matt 6:26)	<i>Paed.</i> II 10, 102, 4	C	Matt 7:2 / Luke 6:38	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 91, 2	In
Matt 6:26 / Luke 12:24	<i>Strom.</i> IV 6, 31, 4	*	Matt 7:2 / Mark 4:24; Luke 6:38	<i>Quis dives</i> 37, 3	*
Matt 6:27 / Luke 12:25	<i>Ecl.</i> 12, 3	In	Matt 7:6	<i>Strom.</i> I 12, 55, 3	Ad
Luke 12:27 (Matt 6:28-29)	<i>Paed.</i> II 10, 102, 5	C	Matt 7:6	<i>Strom.</i> II 2, 7, 4	All
Luke 12:28 (Matt 6:30)	<i>Paed.</i> II 10, 103, 1	C	Matt 7:7 / Luke 11:9	<i>Strom.</i> I 11, 51, 4	In
Matt 6:30 / Luke 12:28	<i>Strom.</i> IV 7, 42, 4	*	Matt 7:7 / Luke 11:9	<i>Strom.</i> II 20, 116, 2	In
Luke 12:29 (Matt 6:31)	<i>Paed.</i> II 10, 103, 1	C	Matt 7:7 / Luke 11:9	<i>Strom.</i> III 7, 57, 2	In
Luke 12:29 (Matt 6:31)	<i>Paed.</i> II 10, 103, 2	Ad	Matt 7:7 / Luke 11:9	<i>Strom.</i> VIII 1, 1, 2	*
Luke 12:29 (Matt 6:31)	<i>Paed.</i> II 10, 103, 3	C	Matt 7:7 / Matt 7:8; Luke 11:9	<i>Strom.</i> V 3, 16, 6	In
Matt 6:32	<i>Strom.</i> IV 6, 34, 6	C	Matt 7:7 / Matt 7:8; Luke 11:9	<i>Paed.</i> I 10, 91, 3	*
Matt 6:32 / Luke 12:30	<i>Strom.</i> VII 7, 46, 1	*	Matt 7:7 / Matt 7:8; Luke 11:9	<i>Paed.</i> III 6, 36, 3	In
Matt 6:32 / Luke 12:30	<i>Ecl.</i> 12, 2	In	Matt 7:7 / Matt 7:8; Luke 11:9	<i>Strom.</i> II 1, 3, 5	*
Luke 12:30 (Matt 6:32)	<i>Paed.</i> II 10, 103, 4	C	Matt 7:7 / Matt 7:8; Luke 11:9	<i>Strom.</i> IV 2, 5, 3	In
Luke 12:30 (Matt 6:32)	<i>Paed.</i> II 10, 103, 5	C	Matt 7:7 / Matt 7:8; Luke 11:9	<i>Strom.</i> V 1, 11, 1	In
Matt 6:33	<i>Strom.</i> IV 6, 34, 6	Ad	Matt 7:7 / Matt 7:8; Luke 11:9	<i>Strom.</i> VII 15, 91, 3	*
Luke 12:31 (Matt 6:33)	<i>Paed.</i> II 10, 103, 5	Ad	Matt 7:7 / Luke 11:9; John 14:13-14; 16:23	<i>Paed.</i> I 7, 54, 2	*
Matt 6:33 / Luke 12:31	<i>Paed.</i> II 12, 120, 2	*	Matt 7:7 / Luke 11:9; John 14:13-14; 16:23	<i>Paed.</i> III 7, 40, 2	*
Matt 6:33-34 / Luke 12:31	<i>Ecl.</i> 12, 2	In	Matt 7:7 / Luke 11:9; John 14:13-14; 16:23	<i>Strom.</i> VI 9, 78, 1	*
Matt 6:34	<i>Paed.</i> I 5, 17, 2	Ad	Matt 7:7 / Luke 11:9; John 14:13-14; 16:23	<i>Strom.</i> VI 12, 101, 4	*
Matt 6:34	<i>Paed.</i> I 12, 98, 4	Ad	Matt 7:7 / Luke 11:9; John 14:13-14; 16:23	<i>Strom.</i> VII 7, 41, 3	*
Matt 7:1 / Luke 6:37	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 91, 2	In	Matt 7:7 / Luke 11:9; John 14:13-14; 16:23	<i>Strom.</i> VII 12, 73, 1	*
Luke 6:37 (Matt 7:1)	<i>Quis dives</i> 33, 2	*	Matt 7:7 / Luke 11:9; John 14:13-14; 16:23	<i>Quis dives</i> 42, 19	*
Luke 6:37 (Matt 7:1)	<i>Quis dives</i> 33, 4	Ad	Matt 7:8 / Luke 11:9	<i>Quis dives</i> 10, 2	In
Luke 6:38 (Matt 7:2)	<i>Quis dives</i> 33, 4	Ad	Matt 7:11 / Luke 11:13	<i>Quis dives</i> 39, 6	In

Luke 6:31 (Matt 7:12)	<i>Paed.</i> III 12, 88, 1	C	Matt 7:16	<i>Strom.</i> III 4, 35, 1	*
Matt 7:12 / Luke 6:31	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 91, 2	In	Matt 7:16 / Matt 12:33; Luke 6:44	<i>Strom.</i> III 5, 44, 1	In
Matt 7:13	<i>Strom.</i> II 15, 68, 1	All	Luke 6:44 (Matt 7:16)	<i>Paed.</i> II 8, 74, 4	All
Matt 7:13	<i>Strom.</i> IV 6, 34, 1	Ad	Luke 6:43 (Matt 7:18)	<i>Paed.</i> II 5, 45, 1	Ad
Matt 7:13	<i>Strom.</i> V 5, 31, 1	Ad	Matt 7:21	<i>Strom.</i> IV 7, 43, 4	*
Matt 7:13 / Luke 13:24	<i>Strom.</i> IV 22, 138, 4	In	Matt 7:21	<i>Strom.</i> VII 12, 74, 8	Ad
Matt 7:13 / Luke 13:24	<i>Protr.</i> 10, 100, 1	In	Matt 7:21	<i>Quis dives</i> 29, 6	C
Matt 7:14	<i>Strom.</i> IV 2, 5, 3	All	Matt 7:21 / Luke 6:46; Matt 12:50; 21:31	<i>Paed.</i> I 12, 98, 3	*
Matt 7:14	<i>Strom.</i> V 5, 31, 1	All	Matt 7:21 / Luke 6:46; Matt 12:50; 21:31	<i>Strom.</i> II 4, 19, 1	In
Matt 7:14	<i>Strom.</i> VI 1, 2, 3	All	Matt 7:21 / Luke 6:46; Matt 12:50; 21:31	<i>Strom.</i> VII 16, 104, 4	In
Matt 7:14	<i>Strom.</i> VII 16, 93, 3	*	Matt 7:21 / Luke 6:46; Matt 12:50; 21:31	<i>Ecl.</i> 19, 1	In
Matt 7:14	<i>Quis dives</i> 26, 8	*	Luke 6:46 (Matt 7:21)	<i>Strom.</i> IV 7, 43, 3	C
Matt 7:15	<i>Protr.</i> 1, 4, 3	All	Luke 6:46 (Matt 7:21)	<i>Strom.</i> VII 18, 110, 1	C
Matt 7:15	<i>Strom.</i> I 8, 40, 5	All	Luke 6:46 (Matt 7:21)	<i>Quis dives</i> 29, 6	C
Matt 7:15	<i>Strom.</i> III 4, 35, 1	*	Matt 7:27	<i>Quis dives</i> 1, 3	*

Appendix II: References to the Sermon on the Mount and Parallel Texts in the Sequence of Clement's Work

Matt 7:15	<i>Protr.</i> 1, 4, 3	All	Luke 6:35 (Matt 5:45)	<i>Paed.</i> 18, 72, 2	C
Matt 5:8	<i>Protr.</i> 1, 10, 2	*	Luke 6:36 (Matt 5:48)	<i>Paed.</i> 18, 72, 2	C
Matt 5:9 / John 1:12; Rom 8:15–17;	<i>Protr.</i> 2, 27, 3	*	Matt 5:45	<i>Paed.</i> 18, 72, 2	All
8:21–23; Gal 3:23–47; Eph 1:5			Matt 5:45	<i>Paed.</i> 18, 72, 3	Ad
Matt 5:28	<i>Protr.</i> 4, 61, 3	*	Matt 6:9 / Luke 11:2	<i>Paed.</i> 18, 73, 1	In
Matt 5:18	<i>Protr.</i> 9, 82, 1	Ad	Matt 5:14	<i>Paed.</i> 19, 84, 3	*
Matt 6:19–20 / Luke 12:33	<i>Protr.</i> 10, 93, 3	*	Matt 5:45	<i>Paed.</i> 19, 88, 2	*
Matt 6:24 / Luke 16:13	<i>Protr.</i> 10, 94, 3	*	Matt 7:7 / Matt 7:8; Luke 11:9	<i>Paed.</i> 10, 91, 3	*
Matt 5:5	<i>Protr.</i> 10, 94, 4	*	Matt 7:21 / Luke 6:46; Matt 12:50; 21:31	<i>Paed.</i> 12, 98, 3	*
Matt 5:3 / Luke 6:20; Matt 5:10	<i>Protr.</i> 10, 99, 4	In	Matt 6:34	<i>Paed.</i> 12, 98, 4	Ad
Matt 7:13 / Luke 13:24	<i>Protr.</i> 10, 100, 1	In	Matt 5:8	<i>Paed.</i> 11, 1, 2–3	*
Matt 6:20 / Luke 12:33	<i>Protr.</i> 10, 105, 3	In	Matt 6:26 / Luke 12:24	<i>Paed.</i> 11, 14, 5	*
Matt 5:17	<i>Protr.</i> 10, 108, 5	*	Luke 6:43 (Matt 7:18)	<i>Paed.</i> 11, 5, 45, 1	Ad
Luke 6:29 (Matt 5:39–40)	<i>Protr.</i> 10, 108, 5	C	Matt 5:22	<i>Paed.</i> 11, 6, 50, 2	All
Matt 5:28	<i>Protr.</i> 10, 108, 5	All	Matt 6:7	<i>Paed.</i> 11, 7, 59, 4	*
Matt 5:45	<i>Protr.</i> 11, 114, 3	Ad	Luke 6:44 (Matt 7:16)	<i>Paed.</i> 11, 8, 74, 4	All
Matt 5:8	<i>Paed.</i> 11, 3, 3	*	Luke 12:23 (Matt 6:25)	<i>Paed.</i> 11, 10, 102, 3	C
Matt 6:34	<i>Paed.</i> 15, 17, 2	Ad	Luke 12:24 (Matt 6:26)	<i>Paed.</i> 11, 10, 102, 4	C
Matt 7:7 / Luke 11:9;	<i>Paed.</i> 17, 54, 2	*	Luke 12:27 (Matt 6:28–29)	<i>Paed.</i> 11, 10, 102, 5	C
John 14:13–14; 16:23			Luke 12:28 (Matt 6:30)	<i>Paed.</i> 11, 10, 103, 1	C
Matt 5:44 / Luke 6:27	<i>Paed.</i> 18, 70, 3	In	Luke 12:29 (Matt 6:31)	<i>Paed.</i> 11, 10, 103, 1	C

Matt 5:28	<i>Strom.</i> II 14, 61, 3	All	Matt 7:15	<i>Strom.</i> III 4, 35, 1	*
Matt 5:28	<i>Strom.</i> II 15, 66, 1	Ad	Matt 7:16	<i>Strom.</i> III 4, 35, 1	*
Matt 7:13	<i>Strom.</i> II 15, 68, 1	All	Matt 5:44 / Luke 6:27	<i>Strom.</i> III 4, 36, 1	*
Matt 5:44 / Luke 6:27	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 90, 1	In	Luke 12:58 (Matt 5:25)	<i>Strom.</i> III 4, 36, 1	All
Matt 5:7	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 91, 2	All	Matt 5:16	<i>Strom.</i> III 4, 36, 4	All
Matt 6:14 / Mark 11:25	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 91, 2	In	Matt 5:38 / Exod 21:24; Lev 24:20	<i>Strom.</i> III 4, 37, 2	*
Matt 7:12 / Luke 6:31	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 91, 2	In	Matt 7:16 / Matt 12:33; Luke 6:44	<i>Strom.</i> III 5, 44, 1	In
Matt 7:1 / Luke 6:37	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 91, 2	In	Matt 5:17	<i>Strom.</i> III 6, 46, 2	Ad
Matt 7:2 / Luke 6:38	<i>Strom.</i> II 18, 91, 2	In	Matt 5:28	<i>Strom.</i> III 6, 46, 4	All
Matt 5:19	<i>Strom.</i> II 19, 97, 2	Ad	Matt 5:31 / Matt 19:7	<i>Strom.</i> III 6, 47, 2	*
Luke 6:36 (Matt 5:48)	<i>Strom.</i> II 19, 100, 4	Ad	Matt 5:32 / Matt 19:9; Mark 10:11	<i>Strom.</i> III 6, 47, 2	In
Matt 5:8	<i>Strom.</i> II 20, 104, 2	*	Matt 5:42	<i>Strom.</i> III 6, 54, 1	C
Matt 5:8	<i>Strom.</i> II 20, 114, 3–6	(*)	Matt 6:20	<i>Strom.</i> III 6, 56, 2	*
Matt 7:7 / Luke 11:9	<i>Strom.</i> II 20, 116, 2	In	Matt 6:19	<i>Strom.</i> III 6, 56, 2	Ad
Matt 5:32 / Matt 19:9; Mark 10:11	<i>Strom.</i> II 23, 145, 3	In	Matt 7:7 / Luke 11:9	<i>Strom.</i> III 7, 57, 2	In
Matt 5:32 / Matt 19:9; Mark 10:11	<i>Strom.</i> II 23, 146, 2	In	Matt 5:9	<i>Strom.</i> III 10, 69, 4	*
Matt 5:45	<i>Strom.</i> III 2, 6, 2	*	Matt 5:27	<i>Strom.</i> III 11, 71, 3	Ad
Matt 5:27	<i>Strom.</i> III 2, 8, 4	Ad	Matt 5:28	<i>Strom.</i> III 11, 71, 3	Ad
Matt 5:28	<i>Strom.</i> III 2, 8, 4	Ad	Matt 5:28	<i>Strom.</i> III 11, 76, 1	Ad
Matt 5:28	<i>Strom.</i> III 2, 9, 1	Ad	Matt 5:27	<i>Strom.</i> III 11, 76, 2	*
Matt 6:24 / Luke 16:13	<i>Strom.</i> III 4, 26, 2	In	Matt 6:24 / Luke 16:13	<i>Strom.</i> III 12, 81, 2	(*)
Matt 5:42	<i>Strom.</i> III 4, 27, 3	(Ad)	Matt 6:19	<i>Strom.</i> III 12, 86, 3	Ad
Matt 5:28	<i>Strom.</i> III 4, 31, 1	Ad	Matt 5:28	<i>Strom.</i> III 14, 94, 3	C
Matt 5:20	<i>Strom.</i> III 4, 33, 3	Ad	Matt 7:14	<i>Strom.</i> IV 2, 5, 3	All

Matt 5:17	<i>Strom.</i> IV 18, 113, 5	*	Matt 5:34	<i>Strom.</i> V 14, 99, 2	*
Matt 5:28	<i>Strom.</i> IV 18, 114, 2	Ad	Matt 5:37	<i>Strom.</i> V 14, 99, 1	C
Matt 5:28	<i>Strom.</i> IV 18, 116, 1	All	Matt 7:14	<i>Strom.</i> VI 1, 2, 3	All
Matt 5:17	<i>Strom.</i> IV 21, 130, 3	*	Matt 5:45	<i>Strom.</i> VI 3, 29, 2	Ad
Matt 5:10	<i>Strom.</i> IV 21, 131, 1	*	Matt 6:1	<i>Strom.</i> VI 7, 56, 2	*
Matt 5:9 / John 1:12; Rom 8:15-17; 8:21-23; Gal 3:23-4:7; Eph 1:5	<i>Strom.</i> IV 21, 132, 1	*	Matt 6:8	<i>Strom.</i> VI 9, 78, 1	*
Matt 5:45	<i>Strom.</i> IV 22, 137, 2	C	Matt 7:7 / Luke 11:9;	<i>Strom.</i> VI 9, 78, 1	*
Matt 5:48	<i>Strom.</i> IV 22, 137, 3	Ad	John 14:13-14; 16:23	<i>Strom.</i> VI 12, 101, 4	*
Matt 6:2-4	<i>Strom.</i> IV 22, 138, 2	All	Matt 7:7 / Luke 11:9;		
Matt 6:16-18	<i>Strom.</i> IV 22, 138, 2	All	John 14:13-14; 16:23		
Matt 7:13 / Luke 13:24	<i>Strom.</i> IV 22, 138, 4	In	Matt 5:8	<i>Strom.</i> VI 12, 102, 2	All
Matt 5:16	<i>Strom.</i> IV 26, 171, 2	All	Matt 5:48	<i>Strom.</i> VI 12, 104, 2	Ad
Matt 6:10 / Luke 11:2	<i>Strom.</i> IV 26, 172, 2	In	Matt 5:8	<i>Strom.</i> VI 14, 108, 1	All
Matt 5:8	<i>Strom.</i> V 1, 7, 7	Ad	Matt 5:48	<i>Strom.</i> VI 14, 114, 6	*
Matt 7:7 / Matt 7:8; Luke 11:9	<i>Strom.</i> V 1, 11, 1	In	Matt 5:20	<i>Strom.</i> VI 15, 115, 3	C
Matt 5:6	<i>Strom.</i> V 1, 12, 2	*	Matt 5:20	<i>Strom.</i> VI 18, 164, 2	Ad
Matt 7:7 / Matt 7:8 Luke 11:9	<i>Strom.</i> V 3, 16, 6	In	Matt 5:8	<i>Strom.</i> VII 3, 13, 1	All
Matt 5:45	<i>Strom.</i> V 3, 18, 7	C	Matt 5:8	<i>Strom.</i> VII 3, 19, 2	All
Luke 12:33 (Matt 6:20)	<i>Strom.</i> V 4, 23, 2	*	Matt 7:7 / Luke 11:9;	<i>Strom.</i> VII 7, 41, 3	*
Matt 7:14	<i>Strom.</i> V 5, 31, 1	All	John 14:13-14; 16:23		
Matt 7:13	<i>Strom.</i> V 5, 31, 1	Ad	Matt 6:20 / Luke 12:33	<i>Strom.</i> VII 7, 41, 8	*
Matt 5:8	<i>Strom.</i> V 6, 40, 1	*	Matt 6:32 / Luke 12:30	<i>Strom.</i> VII 7, 46, 1	*
Matt 5:6	<i>Strom.</i> V 11, 70, 1	Ad	Matt 5:8	<i>Strom.</i> VII 7, 49, 1	*
			Matt 6:6	<i>Strom.</i> VII 7, 49, 7	All

Matt 6:9	<i>Strom.</i> VII 7, 49, 7	*	Matt 5:29–30 / Matt 18:9;	<i>Strom.</i> VII 12, 72, 4	*
Matt 6:7	<i>Strom.</i> VII 7, 49, 6	*	Mark 9:43–47		
Matt 6:1	<i>Strom.</i> VII 7, 49, 6	*	Matt 7:7 / Luke 11:9;	<i>Strom.</i> VII 12, 73, 1	*
Matt 6:5	<i>Strom.</i> VII 7, 49, 6	*	John 14:13–14; 16:23		
Matt 5:34	<i>Strom.</i> VII 8, 50, 1	*	Matt 6:8	<i>Strom.</i> VII 12, 73, 4	*
Matt 5:33	<i>Strom.</i> VII 8, 50, 4	*	Matt 6:13 / Luke 11:4	<i>Strom.</i> VII 12, 74, 4	*
Matt 5:44 / Luke 6:27	<i>Strom.</i> VII 8, 50, 4	*	Matt 5:44 / Luke 6:27	<i>Strom.</i> VII 12, 74, 5	*
Matt 5:34	<i>Strom.</i> VII 8, 50, 5	*	Matt 7:21	<i>Strom.</i> VII 12, 74, 8	Ad
Matt 5:37	<i>Strom.</i> VII 8, 50, 5	*	Matt 5:21–22 / Matt 5:27–28	<i>Strom.</i> VII 12, 76, 1	*
Matt 5:20	<i>Strom.</i> VII 10, 56, 2	*	Matt 5:28	<i>Strom.</i> VII 12, 76, 6	*
Matt 5:8	<i>Strom.</i> VII 10, 56, 5	All	Matt 6:21 / Luke 12:34	<i>Strom.</i> VII 12, 77, 6	In
Matt 5:8	<i>Strom.</i> VII 10, 57, 1	All	Matt 6:11	<i>Strom.</i> VII 12, 78, 2	*
Matt 5:21–22	<i>Strom.</i> VII 11, 60, 4	*	Matt 6:12 / Luke 11:4	<i>Strom.</i> VII 13, 81, 2	In
Matt 5:28	<i>Strom.</i> VII 11, 60, 4	*	Matt 5:48	<i>Strom.</i> VII 13, 81, 3	All
Matt 5:44 / Luke 6:27	<i>Strom.</i> VII 11, 62, 3	*	Matt 6:3	<i>Strom.</i> VII 13, 81, 5	*
Matt 5:10	<i>Strom.</i> VII 11, 67, 2	*	Matt 6:1 / Matt 6:4	<i>Strom.</i> VII 13, 81, 5	*
Matt 5:37	<i>Strom.</i> VII 11, 67, 5	C	Matt 5:28	<i>Strom.</i> VII 13, 82, 3	*
Matt 5:9	<i>Strom.</i> VII 11, 68, 1	*	Matt 5:44 / Luke 6:27	<i>Strom.</i> VII 14, 84, 5	In
Matt 5:9	<i>Strom.</i> VII 11, 68, 3	*	Matt 5:44 / Luke 6:27	<i>Strom.</i> VII 14, 84, 7	In
Matt 5:8	<i>Strom.</i> VII 11, 68, 4	All	Matt 5:45	<i>Strom.</i> VII 14, 85, 2	All
Matt 5:42 / Luke 6:30	<i>Strom.</i> VII 12, 69, 2	*	Matt 5:39 / Luke 6:29	<i>Strom.</i> VII 14, 86, 3	*
Matt 5:44 / Luke 6:27	<i>Strom.</i> VII 12, 69, 2	*	Matt 5:21–22 / Matt 5:27–28	<i>Strom.</i> VII 14, 86, 3	*
Matt 6:24	<i>Strom.</i> VII 12, 71, 6	Ad	Matt 5:16	<i>Strom.</i> VII 14, 86, 5	*
			Matt 5:45	<i>Strom.</i> VII 14, 86, 5	All

Matt 6:14 / Mark 11:25	<i>Strom.</i> VII 14, 86, 6	In	Matt 5:16	Exc. 41, 3	(C)
Matt 5:9 / John 1:12; Rom 8:15-17; 8:21-23; Gal 3:23-4:7; Eph 1:5	<i>Strom.</i> VII 14, 88, 3	*	Matt 5:25	Exc. 52, 1	(*)
Matt 5:48	<i>Strom.</i> VII 14, 88, 4	Ad	Matt 5:25	Exc. 52, 2	(*)
Matt 6:12 / Luke 11:4	<i>Strom.</i> VII 14, 88, 4	*	Matt 5:3-12 / Luke 6:20-23	Ecl. 12, 1	*
Matt 5:44 / Luke 6:27	<i>Strom.</i> VII 14, 88, 4	*	Matt 6:33-34 / Luke 12:31	Ecl. 12, 2	In
Matt 5:48	<i>Strom.</i> VII 14, 88, 6	All	Matt 6:32 / Luke 12:30	Ecl. 12, 2	In
Matt 7:7 / Matt 7:8; Luke 11:9	<i>Strom.</i> VII 15, 91, 3	*	Matt 6:27 / Luke 12:25	Ecl. 12, 3	In
Matt 7:14	<i>Strom.</i> VII 16, 93, 3	*	Matt 6:8	Ecl. 12, 4	*
Matt 5:9	<i>Strom.</i> VII 16, 93, 5	*	Matt 5:6	Ecl. 14, 4	Ad
Matt 6:23 / Luke 11:34	<i>Strom.</i> VII 16, 99, 1	*	Matt 7:21 / Luke 6:46;	Ecl. 19, 1	In
Matt 5:9	<i>Strom.</i> VII 16, 100, 5	*	Matt 12:50; 21:31	Ecl. 19, 1	In
Matt 7:21 / Luke 6:46;	<i>Strom.</i> VII 16, 104, 4	In	Matt 6:9 / Luke 11:2	Ecl. 20, 2	*
Matt 12:50; 21:31			Matt 5:9 / John 1:12;		
Luke 6:46 (Matt 7:21)	<i>Strom.</i> VII 18, 110, 1	C	Rom 8:15-17;		
Matt 7:7 / Luke 11:9	<i>Strom.</i> VIII 1, 1, 2	*	8:21-23; Gal 3:23-4:7; Eph 1:5		
Matt 5:38 / Exod 21:24; Lev 24:20	<i>Strom.</i> VIII 8, 30, 4	*	Matt 6:9 / Luke 11:2	Ecl. 20, 3	*
Matt 5:16	Exc. 3, 1	(C)	Matt 5:8	Ecl. 32, 3	*
Matt 5:14	Exc. 9, 3	C	Matt 5:48	<i>Quis dives</i> 1, 2	*
Matt 5:45	Exc. 9, 3	Ad	Matt 7:27	<i>Quis dives</i> 1, 3	*
Matt 5:8	Exc. 11, 1	C	Matt 5:16	<i>Quis dives</i> 1, 4	*
Matt 5:8	Exc. 27, 4	*	Matt 5:17	<i>Quis dives</i> 9, 2	*

Matt 5:9 / John 1:12; Rom 8:15-17; 8:21-23;	<i>Quis dives</i> 9, 2	*	Luke 6:46 (Matt 7:21)	<i>Quis dives</i> 29, 6	C
Gal 3:23-4:7; Eph1:5			Luke 6:30 (Matt 5:42)	<i>Quis dives</i> 31, 9	C
Matt 7:8 / Luke 11:9	<i>Quis dives</i> 10, 2	In	Luke 6:37 (Matt 7:1)	<i>Quis dives</i> 33, 2	*
Matt 5:3 / Luke 6:20	<i>Quis dives</i> 11, 3	*	Matt 5:42 / Luke 6:30	<i>Quis dives</i> 33, 2	*
Matt 6:20	<i>Quis dives</i> 13, 3	Ad	Luke 6:37 (Matt 7:1)	<i>Quis dives</i> 33, 4	Ad
Matt 5:8	<i>Quis dives</i> 16, 2	*	Luke 6:38 (Matt 7:2)	<i>Quis dives</i> 33, 4	Ad
Matt 5:3	<i>Quis dives</i> 16, 3	All	Matt 5:14	<i>Quis dives</i> 36, 1	C
Matt 5:3 / Luke 6:20	<i>Quis dives</i> 17, 1	*	Matt 5:13	<i>Quis dives</i> 36, 1	C
Matt 6:21 / Luke 12:34	<i>Quis dives</i> 17, 1	In	Matt 5:9 / John 1:12; Rom 8:15-17; 8:21-23;	<i>Quis dives</i> 36, 2	*
Matt 5:3	<i>Quis dives</i> 17, 5	C	Gal 3:23-4:7; Eph1:5		
Matt 5:6	<i>Quis dives</i> 17, 5	Ad	Matt 7:2 / Mark 4:24; Luke 6:38	<i>Quis dives</i> 37, 3	*
Matt 5:39 / Luke 6:29	<i>Quis dives</i> 18, 4	*	Matt 7:11 / Luke 11:13	<i>Quis dives</i> 39, 6	In
Matt 5:3	<i>Quis dives</i> 19, 2	All	Matt 5:25 / Luke 12:58	<i>Quis dives</i> 40, 5	*
Matt 5:8	<i>Quis dives</i> 19, 3	All	Matt 7:7 / Luke 11:9; John 14:13-14; 16:23	<i>Quis dives</i> 42, 19	*
Matt 5:44 / Luke 6:27	<i>Quis dives</i> 22, 3-4	In	Matt 6:9 / Luke 11:2	<i>Adumbr</i> 13, 15	C
Matt 5:29-30 / Matt 18:9; Mark 9:43-47	<i>Quis dives</i> 24, 2	In	Matt 5:8	<i>Adumbr</i> 11 24	All
Matt 7:14	<i>Quis dives</i> 26, 8	*	Matt 5:18	<i>fr</i> : 58	All
Matt 7:21	<i>Quis dives</i> 29, 6	C	Matt 5:18	<i>fr</i> : 58	Ad

Appendix III: List of Passages from Matt 5–7 not Mentioned by Clement

Promises of reward

- Matt 5:12: χαίρετε καὶ ἀγαλλιάσθε, ὅτι ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς· οὕτως γὰρ ἐδίδωξαν τοὺς προφῆτας τοὺς πρὸ ὑμῶν.
- Matt 5:46a: ἐὰν γὰρ ἀγαπήσητε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε;
- Matt 6:1b: ... εἰ δὲ μὴ γε, μισθὸν οὐκ ἔχετε παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ ὑμῶν τῷ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.
- Matt 6:4b, 6:6b: ... καὶ ὁ πατήρ σου ὁ βλέπων ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ ἀποδώσει σοι.
- Matt 6:5c, 6:16b: ... ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀπέχουσιν τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶν.
- Matt 6:18b: ... καὶ ὁ πατήρ σου ὁ βλέπων ἐν τῷ κρυφαίῳ ἀποδώσει σοι.

Comparison with “worse people”

- Matt 5:16b: ... ὅπως ἴδωσιν ὑμῶν τὰ καλὰ ἔργα καὶ δοξάσωσιν τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.
- Matt 5:46b–47: οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ τελῶναι τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν; καὶ ἐὰν ἀσπάσῃσθε τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ὑμῶν μόνον, τί περισσὸν ποιεῖτε; οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ ἐθνικοὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν;
- Matt 6:2b: ... μὴ σαλπίσῃς ἔμπροσθέν σου, ὥσπερ οἱ ὑποκριταὶ ποιοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς ρύμαις ...
- Matt 6:5a: καὶ ὅταν προσεύχησθε, οὐκ ἔσεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταί, ὅτι φιλοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς γωνίαις τῶν πλατειῶν ἐστῶτες προσεύχεσθαι ...
- Matt 6:7b–8a: ... ὥσπερ οἱ ἐθνικοί, δοκοῦσιν γὰρ ὅτι ἐν τῇ πολυλογίᾳ αὐτῶν εἰσακουσθήσονται. μὴ οὖν ὁμοιωθῆτε αὐτοῖς.
- Matt 6:16a: ... μὴ γίνεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταὶ σκυθρωποί, ἀφανίζουσιν γὰρ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν ὅπως φανῶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις νηστεύοντες.
- Matt 7:20: ἄρα γε ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς.

God's will vs evil

- Matt 5:13c: ἐὰν δὲ τὸ ἅλας μωρανθῇ, ἐν τίνι ἀλισθήσεται; εἰς οὐδὲν ἰσχύει ἔτι εἰ μὴ βληθὲν ἔξω καταπατεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.
- Matt 5:22d: ... ἔνοχος ἔσται εἰς τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρός.
- Matt 5:23–24: ἐὰν οὖν προσφέρῃς τὸ δῶρόν σου ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ κεῖ μνηστῆς ὅτι ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἔχει τι κατὰ σοῦ, ἄφες ἐκεῖ τὸ δῶρόν σου ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ ὑπάγε πρῶτον διαλλάγηθι τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου, καὶ τότε ἔλθων πρόσφερε τὸ δῶρόν σου.
- Matt 5:25c–26: ... καὶ εἰς φυλακὴν βληθήσῃ· ἀμὴν λέγω σοι, οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃς ἐκεῖθεν, ἕως ἂν ἀποδῷς τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην.

- Matt 5:28b: ... ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ.
- Matt 5:29b, 5:30c: ... ἔξελε αὐτὸν καὶ βάλε ἀπὸ σοῦ... καὶ βάλε ἀπὸ σοῦ.
- Matt 5:29d, 5:30e: ... μὴ ὅλον τὸ σῶμά σου βληθῇ εἰς γέενναν. ... μὴ ὅλον τὸ σῶμά σου εἰς γέενναν ἀπέλθῃ.
- Matt 5:43b: ... καὶ μισήσεις τὸν ἐχθρόν σου.
- Matt 6:15: ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀφήτε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οὐδὲ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ἀφήσει τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν.
- Matt 6:23b: εἰ οὖν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐν σοὶ σκότος ἐστίν, τὸ σκότος πόσον.
- Matt 7:3–5: τί δὲ βλέπεις τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου, τὴν δὲ ἐν τῷ σῷ ὀφθαλμῷ δοκὸν οὐ κατανοεῖς; ἢ πῶς ἐρεῖς τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου· ἄφες ἐκβάλλω τὸ κάρφος ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἡ δοκὸς ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ σοῦ; ὑποκριτά, ἐκβαλε πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου τὴν δοκόν, καὶ τότε διαβλέψεις ἐκβαλεῖν τὸ κάρφος ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου.
- Matt 7:8a: πᾶς γὰρ ὁ αἰτῶν λαμβάνει...
- Matt 7:9–10: ἢ τίς ἐστίν ἐξ ὑμῶν ἄνθρωπος, ὃν αἰτήσῃ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἄρτον, μὴ λίθον ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ; ἢ καὶ ἰχθὺν αἰτήσῃ, μὴ ὄφιν ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ;
- Matt 7:14b: ... ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ζωὴν καὶ ὀλίγοι εἰσὶν οἱ εὐρίσκοντες αὐτήν.
- Matt 7:17: οὕτως πᾶν δένδρον ἀγαθὸν καρποὺς καλοὺς ποιεῖ, τὸ δὲ σαπρὸν δένδρον καρποὺς πονηροὺς ποιεῖ.
- Matt 7:19: πᾶν δένδρον μὴ ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλὸν ἐκκόπτεται καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται.
- Matt 7:22–23: πολλοὶ ἐροῦσίν μοι ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ· κύριε κύριε, οὐ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι ἐπροφητεύσαμεν, καὶ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι δαιμόνια ἐξεβάλομεν, καὶ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι δυνάμεις πολλὰς ἐποιήσαμεν; καὶ τότε ὁμολογήσω αὐτοῖς ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἔγνω ὑμᾶς· ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν.
- Matt 7:24–27a: πᾶς οὖν ὅστις ἀκούει μου τοὺς λόγους τούτους καὶ ποιεῖ αὐτούς, ὁμοιωθήσεται ἀνδρὶ φρονίμῳ, ὅστις ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν· καὶ κατέβη ἡ βροχὴ καὶ ἦλθον οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἔπνευσαν οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ προσέπεσαν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐκείνῃ, καὶ οὐκ ἔπεσεν, τεθεμελίωτο γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν. καὶ πᾶς ὁ ἀκούων μου τοὺς λόγους τούτους καὶ μὴ ποιῶν αὐτούς ὁμοιωθήσεται ἀνδρὶ μωρῷ, ὅστις ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμμον· καὶ κατέβη ἡ βροχὴ καὶ ἦλθον οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἔπνευσαν οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ προσέκοψαν τὴν οἰκίαν ἐκείνην...

Facts related to Jewish culture?

- Matt 5:22b: ὅς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ· ῥακά, ἔνοχος ἔσται τῷ συνεδρίῳ·
 Matt 5:33b: ... ἀποδώσεις δὲ τῷ κυρίῳ τοὺς ὅρκους σου.
 Matt 5:34b–36a: ... μήτε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὅτι θρόνος ἐστὶν τοῦ θεοῦ, μήτε ἐν τῇ γῇ, ὅτι ὑποπόδιόν ἐστιν τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ, μήτε εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, ὅτι πόλις ἐστὶν τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως, μήτε ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ σου ὁμόσης...

Chance?

- Matt 5:1–2: ἰδὼν δὲ τοὺς ὄχλους ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ ὄρος, καὶ καθίσαντος αὐτοῦ προσήλθαν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς λέγων·
 Matt 5:18a: ἀμὴν γὰρ λέγω ὑμῖν· ἕως ἄν παρέλθῃ ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ...
 Matt 5:19a: ὃς ἐὰν οὖν λύσῃ μίαν τῶν ἐντολῶν τούτων τῶν ἐλαχίστων καὶ διδάξῃ οὕτως τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἐλάχιστος κληθήσεται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν·
 Matt 5:38b: ... καὶ ὁδόντα ἀντὶ ὁδόντος.
 Matt 5:41: ... καὶ ὅστις σε ἀγαρεῦσει μίλιον ἕν, ὑπάγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο.
 Matt 5:43a: ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη· ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου...
 Matt 6:10a: ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου·
 Matt 7:28–29: καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοὺς λόγους τούτους, ἐξεπλήσσοντο οἱ ὄχλοι ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ· ἦν γὰρ διδάσκων αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων καὶ οὐχ ὡς οἱ γραμματεῖς αὐτῶν.

Appendix iv: Biblical Verses and Sections of Non-biblical Literature, More than Seven Times Mentioned by Clement

- 36 ref.: Gen 1:26;
 26 ref.: Matt 5:8;
 24 ref.: Plato, *Theaet.* 176ab;
 23 ref.: Matt 5:28;
 18 ref.: John 1:3, Eph 4:13;
 15 ref.: 1 Cor 2:9;
 11–18 ref.: Matt 7:7par;
 14 ref.: Matt 5:44par, Matt 11:27par;
 10–16 ref.: Matt 5:9;
 13 ref.: Matt 5:45par, 1 Cor 13:12;

12 ref.: Matt 22:37.39par;

11 ref.: Gen 1:28, Exod 20:17, **Matt 5:3par**, 1 Cor 1:24, Eph 6:12, Chrysippus, *Fr. log.* 35f, Plato, *Resp.* X,617e;

10 ref.: Ezek 33:11, **Matt 6:20par**, **Matt 7:21par**, Matt 11:12par, John 14:6;

9 ref.: Gen 2:18, **Matt 5:48par**, Matt 19:17par., Rom 8:15;

8 ref.: **Matt 5:6**, Matt 18:3, John 1:1, John 15:15, 1 Cor 6:13, 1 Cor 8:7, Gal 3:24, Col 2:8, Heb 1:1.

(7 ref.: Gen 1:3; Exod 20:4; Exod 20:14; Lev 11:7; **Matt 5:10**; Matt 11:15par.; Matt 19:12; Matt 19:21; John 1:9; John 10:8; Rom 8:28–30; 1 Cor 7:5; 1 Cor 7:35; Orpheus frag. 24.)

Appendix v

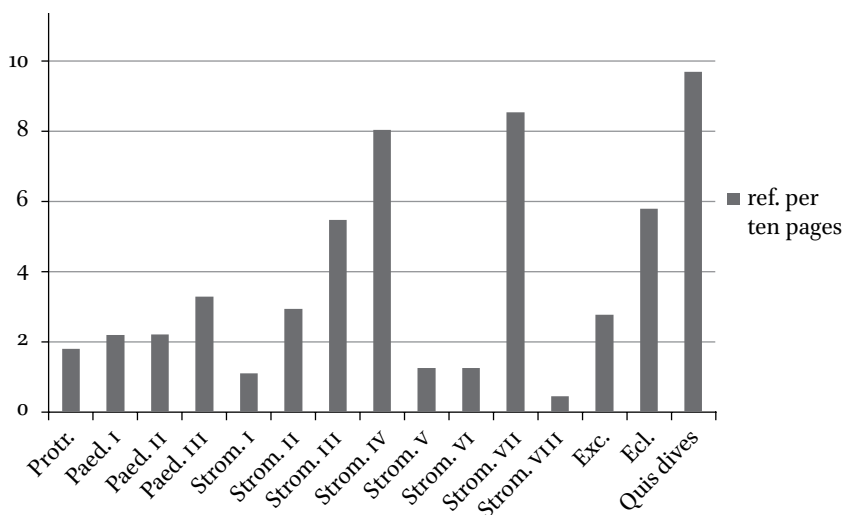


CHART 1 Number of references to Matt 5–7 par. per ten pages of Stählin's edition on average.

Clement of Alexandria's Reception of the Gospel of John: Context, Creative Exegesis and Purpose*

Piotr Ashwin-Siejkowski

1 Introduction

To those scholars who are acquainted with Clement of Alexandria's theology of the divine Logos, *the Gospel of John*, particularly *the Prologue*, seems to be the most natural, close and inspiring scriptural source for Clement. As the divine Logos is in the centre of Clement's theological and philosophical reflection, we may assume that it is *John*¹ who provided the Alexandrian scholar with the whole richness of thought about the Logos. *The Gospel of John* may be assumed to be the primary scriptural source for Clement's theology. However, with that conviction in mind, it is surprising that Stählin's index suggests² that among the four Gospels which later became labelled as canonical,³ it was not *John*, but rather *Matthew* which held the leading place. According to Stählin's index, Clement refers to *the Gospel of Matthew* 742 times, while he quotes *the Gospel*

* I am most grateful to Prof. Ilaria L.E. Ramelli and Dr. Veronika Černušková for their most helpful comments on this paper.

- 1 In this paper I shall use abbreviation of John as the synonym for the Gospel of John; however I do not claim that the Gospel was written by the John identified with one of the twelve disciples of Jesus.
- 2 I believe that the word "suggest" not "prove" is more appropriate, as Stählin's index later (1980) extended by Früchtel/Treu has to be approached carefully, as more direct quotations are mixed with allusions.
- 3 James A. Brooks offers an interesting observation in his paper on Clement's use of the term *κανών*. Brooks states: "Clement uses the word *κανών* twenty-one times [Stählin, *Clement Alexandrinus*, 4:494]. Invariably the word means *a standard or rule by which something is measured or judged*. He speaks of the "canon of the church" [*Strom.* VII 16, 105] and an "ecclesiastical canon" [*Strom.* VII 7, 41], by which he means the inner principle of authority which the church possesses in the area of doctrine and conduct. Likewise he speaks of a "canon of truth" [*Strom.* VII 16, 94] and a "canon of faith" [*Strom.* IV 15, 98]. None of these, however, has anything to do with books. That use of the word did not emerge for another century. Although Clement did not use the word, the evidence collected in this study shows that he did have a concept of what is now called canonicity and an indefinite and fluid group of books which nevertheless constituted a provisional canon" James A. Brooks, "Clement of Alexandria as a Witness to the Development of the New Testament Canon," *SecCent* 9 (1992) 53–4.

of *John* 335 times in his whole oeuvre (*Mark* is quoted 180 and *Luke* 407 times). When looking at any numbers or referring to statistics we have to remember the specific nature of Clement's technique of quoting. Annewies van den Hoek in her paper, although referring to borrowing from Philo, has noted their three-fold character: quotations, paraphrases and reminiscences.⁴ In the case of Clement's use of material from *the Gospel of John* we shall see his quite similar methodological approach where some quotations (much shorter than in the case of Philo's work) appear alongside paraphrases and allusions.

2 A Synopsis of the Pre-Clement Reception of *the Gospel of John*

In his study published in 2004, under the title *The Johannine Corpus in the Early Church*, Charles E. Hill aims to challenge, as he phrases, "the Orthodox Johannophobia theory". According to Hill, since Walter Bauer's famous study,⁵ recent scholarship has been dominated by a view that

gnostic use of and affinity for John precipitated or perpetuated a long-standing attitude of suspicion or antagonism towards that Gospel, a phenomenon we may, for convenience, call "orthodox Johannophobia."⁶

In brief, Charles E. Hill aims to challenge a conviction of many scholars,⁷ that the scriptural corpus of documents ascribed to a certain John or possibly more

4 As this paper deals with Clement's references to *the Gospel of John* it is important to keep in mind an insightful article written by Annewies van den Hoek, "Techniques of Quotation in Clement of Alexandria. A View of Ancient Literary Working Methods," *VChr* 50 (1996) 223–43, esp. 228–9. This paper offers further helpful reconstruction of Clement's background which is applicable to the current discussion on *the Gospel of John*.

5 Walter Bauer, *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1934); and the second edition, edited by Georg Strecker (Tübingen: Mohr, 1964).

6 Charles E. Hill, *The Johannine Corpus in the Early Church* (Oxford: OUP, 2004), 11.

7 Charles E. Hill provides the following list of names representing this opinion; in brackets I add the date of their main publication on the Gospel of John: W. Bauer (1934; English 1971), J.N. Sanders (1943), C.K. Barrett (1955), R. Schnackenburg (1965; English 1968), M.R. Hillmer (1966), H. Von Campenhausen (1968, English 1972), T.E. Pollard (1970), E. Haenchen (1980; English 1984), C.K. Barrett (1978), R. Brown (1966; 1970; 1982), D. Moody Smith (1984), H.Y. Gamble (1985), F.F. Bruce (1988), H. Koester (1982), R.A. Culpepper (1994), M. Lattke (1994), J.H. Charkesworth (1995), G. Sloyan (1988). On the other hand there are also some scholars who have disagreed with this paradigm, among them are: F.-M. Braun (1959), M. Hengel (1989, 1993), J.D. Kaestli, J.-M. Poffet, J. Zumstein (1990), Wolfgang Röhl (1991), René Kieffer (1992) Titus Nagel (2000), cf. Hill, *The Johannine Corpus*, 13–55.

than one author with this name, was primarily used, quoted and commented on by theologians and exegetes of Gnostic (heretical) provenance. In the following 400 pages Hill makes a substantial effort to document that Johannine literature was not only equally known and used by proto-orthodox commentators, but also that the Great Church valued the Johannine literature very much and used it in its teaching. Turning to Clement of Alexandria,⁸ Hill confirms that the Alexandrian scholar knew and used the common second-century title for the fourth Gospel and that Clement believed in John's authorship of *the Book of Revelation*.⁹ Hill concludes:

The Fourth Gospel appears in the work of Clement as the inspired work of an apostle, handed down through the authorized channels of the Church, functioning in its rightful place among the books of the New Testament, and fully possessed of the authority of scripture, not only among intellectuals but generally in the Church.¹⁰

I wish to add some comments to this synopsis. We should not be pushed to accept one of the following alternatives: either *the Gospel of John* was first used by, for example, Valentinians and then "rescued" by the Apostolic writers or the other alternative that the Johannine writings originate among the proto-orthodox communities and were then "stolen" by evil heretics. In the context of the first half of the second-century, aware of the complexity of inter-reaction among various Christian groups, the literal dissemination and editing of *John* might have followed not just one clear, or two opposite, but several different trajectories. In relation to Charles E. Hill's theory that *John* was accepted very early by the communities of the Great Church, we should highlight the evidence of highly sophisticated engagement with the Gospel coming from other Christian groups such as the Valentinians. Theodotus and Heracleon,¹¹ naming just the most famous authors, produced very elaborative commentaries on some passages from *the Gospel of John*, which not only prove their deep personal acquaintance with the Gospel, but also their respect of *John's* authority

8 Hill, *The Johannine Corpus*, 121–8.

9 *Ibid.*, 123.

10 *Ibid.*, 128.

11 On both theologians and the Valentinian school, see Ismo Dunderberg, "The School of Valentinus," in A. Marjanen and P. Luomanen (eds.), *A Companion to Second-Century Christian 'Heretics'* (VChr Suppl. 76; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 64–99, esp. 76–84 with a useful bibliography 97–9.

as a source of Christian Revelation. In their surviving commentaries¹² they preserved the Johannine narrative, so they had access to a written copy of, if not the whole Gospel, at least that which at the beginning of the second-century was known as *the Gospel of John*, which was finally produced at the turn of the first and second centuries. Clement of Alexandria was, in my view, fully aware of the special position and authority of *John* among his, especially Valentinian, opponents.¹³

3 Clement of Alexandria and *the Gospel of John*

I have already pointed out the number of references to *the Gospel of John* in comparison with the synoptic Gospels. These references allocate *John* to third place among all four Gospels. Now I wish to offer a more analytical assessment

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- 12 Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, ed. and trans. Robert P. Casey (London: Christophers, 1934). Elaine H. Pagels, *The Johannine Gospel in Gnostic Exegesis. Heracleon's Commentary on John* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989). Pagels' work offers a much more direct engagement with the ancient document and its context. In the case of *Excerpta ex Theodoto* the French translation and edition by F. Sagnard (Paris: Cerf, 1948) is still valuable. Both ancient authors have been recently studied, although from a very specific angle by Einar Thomassen, *The Spiritual Seed. The Church of the "Valentinians"* (NHMS 60; Leiden: Brill, 2006). For Theodotus, see 28–38. For Heracleon, see 103–18. Also, Hill, *The Johannine Corpus*, 207–12 (for both).
- 13 Did Valentinus know the Gospel of John? Pagels states that it is uncertain, *The Johannine Gospel*, 24. C. Marksches points out some clear statements among fragments ascribed to Valentinus, which show his acquaintance with the Gospel, cf. Christoph Marksches, *Valentinus Gnosticus? Untersuchungen zur valentinianischen Gnosis mit einem Kommentar zu den Fragmenten Valentins* (WUNT 65; Tübingen: Mohr, 1992), 213. Charles E. Hill clearly states his negative answer: "if we were to limit our sources for understanding Valentinus and his teaching to the small fragments extracted from his works, we should have doubtful cause to affirm that Valentinus 'received' the Fourth Gospel at all, and should have to say that, if he did, he seems to have used it in a rather an 'unreceptive' way," see his *The Johannine Corpus*, 218. In addition on the same page Hill adds two references to the studies by M. Hengel, *The Johannine Question* (London: SCM Press, 1989), 146 n. 43 and R.A. Culpepper, *John, The Son of Zebedee: The Life and the Legend* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1994), 115 which suggest that there is no evidence that Valentinus used John. Despite these arguments, I have an open mind about Valentinus' knowledge of the Fourth Gospel: as a Christian theologian and exegete Valentinus lived in Rome at the time when the Gospel of John was known to various local Christian communities (cf. Justin Martyr, in Hill, *The Johannine Corpus*, 312–37). Even if they competed for apostolic authority, they knew about the use of various Apostolic Scriptures by their opponents.

of Clement's references to *John*. A more careful look at all allusions to *the Gospel of John* listed by Stählin's index indicates Clement's "unsystematic" approach.¹⁴ It is evident that Clement gives greatest attention to *the Prologue* (John 1:1–18) with 78 references throughout his oeuvre which makes up almost 25% of all references to *John* in Clement's work. This special position of *the Prologue* will be discussed in the next section of my paper.

We do not find in Clement's works a long commentary to an event, miracle or speech given by Jesus and testified by *John*. On the contrary, Clement applies to his own narrative, interpretation or argument many short, more or less clear, allusions to *John* in order either to back up his interpretation or to reassure about the correctness of his theology on the basis of a scriptural quote.

For example, the episode from the wedding in Cana (John 2:1–11) is mentioned by Clement only on two occasions. The first one appears in the *Paedagogus* II 2, 29, 1 as a part of Clement's allegorical elaboration of the change from water into wine, which serves his positive didactic purpose: look at this miracle as a symbol of the transformation of the human heart previously "filled with water," now receiving new life.¹⁵ On the second occasion, the same episode from Cana is mentioned in the *Excerpta ex Theodoto* (65, 1) in relation to Theodotus' interpretation of the "master" of the matrimonial ceremony or "the best man" (ἀρχιτρίκλινος) as the Demiurge.¹⁶ One of the characteristics of Clement's way of quoting *John* is naming him as "the Apostle" (ὁ ἀπόστολος).¹⁷ For Clement the Gospel was written by "the Apostle" and "the Apostle" speaks in his Gospel (καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ ἀπόστολος...).¹⁸ In his *Paedagogus* I 7, 60, 1 Clement introduces a passage from *John* (1:17) with the statement "therefore also the Scripture says..." (διὸ καὶ φησιν ἡ γραφή). This form of introduction has to be compared with the cases when Clement

14 Chronologically earlier (approx. 160–180 CE) Heracleon produced a detailed commentary on various fragments of *the Gospel of John*, preserved by Origen, *Commentary on John*. For the collection, edition and commentary on 48 fragments see Alan E. Brooke, *The Fragments of Heracleon* (Text and Studies, vol. 1 no. 4; Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2004). More discussion in Ansgar Wucherpfenning, *Heracleon Philologus. Gnostische Johannesexegese im zweiten Jahrhundert* (WUNT 142; Tübingen: Mohr, 2002).

15 *Paed.* II 2, 29, 1: εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ οἶνον ἐν τοῖς γάμοις πεποίηκεν, οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε μεθεῖναι, τὸ δὲ ὕδαρ ἐς τοῦ φρονήματος ἐζωποίησεν.

16 *Exc.* 65, 1: Ὁ δὲ τοῦ δείπνου μὲν ἀρχιτρίκλινος τῶν γάμων δὲ παράνυμφος, τοῦ νυμφίου δὲ φίλος ἐστὼς ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ νυμφῶνος, ἀκούων τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ νυμφίου, χαρὰ χαίρει. τοῦτο αὐτοῦ τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς χαρᾶς καὶ τῆς ἀναπαύσεως.

17 Clement of Alexandria accepted that the same Apostle John was the author of the Gospel, Epistle and the Book of Revelation.

18 Cf. *Strom.* III 6, 45, 1; V 12, 81, 3; *Quis dives* 42, 1.

introduces other (“non-canonical”) early Christian Gospels providing his audience with the full title of the quoted document. For example, on ten occasions Clement quotes the *Kerygma Petri* and he mentions the title eight times.¹⁹ On nine occasions Clement of Alexandria makes references to *the Gospel of the Egyptians*, twice providing us with the title.²⁰ Four times he quotes *the Gospel of the Hebrews*, only twice referring to its title.²¹ Once he mentions a certain passage from the *Protoevangelium of James* (19, 3–20, 2) but without mentioning its source.²² That methodology may suggest that Clement’s notion of the “canon” was still very vague. Against that observation we should quote Clement’s direct statement which proves that he had in mind four primary scriptural sources (*Matthew, Luke, John and Mark*):

First then, we do not find this saying in our four traditional Gospels, but in *the Gospel according to the Egyptians* (Πρώτον μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς παραδεδομένοις ἡμῖν τέτταρσιν εὐαγγελίοις οὐκ ἔχομεν τὸ ρητόν, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ κατ’ Αἰγυπτίου).²³

Having sketched some features of Clement’s dealing with the early Christian Scriptures, I wish to make a number of observations related to his work with *the Gospel of John*. Considering the list of Johannine passages, we can identify the most frequent allusions in Clement’s oeuvre. Apart from a long list of references to *the Prologue*, the other most used verses from *the Gospel of John* are:

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- 19 Cf. *Strom.* I 29, 182, 3 (ἐν δὲ τῷ Πέτρου Κηρύγματι... [sic!]; *Strom.* II 15, 68, 2 (ὁ Πέτρος ἐν τῷ Κηρύγματι); *Strom.* VI 5, 39, 2–40, 2 (Πέτρος ἐν τῷ Κηρύγματι λέγει); *Strom.* VI 5, 43, 3 (φησιν ὁ Πέτρος); *Strom.* VI 6, 48, 1 (ἐν τῷ Πέτρου Κηρύγματι); *Strom.* VI 6, 48, 6 (untitled); *Strom.* VI 7, 58, 1 (ὁ Πέτρος γράφει); *Strom.* VI 15, 128, 1–2 (Πέτρος ἐν τῷ Κηρύγματι); *Strom.* VI 15, 128, 3 (untitled) and *Ecl.* 58 (ὡς Πέτρος ἐν Κηρύγματι). In my view so many direct references to this document shows that Clement believed in Peter’s authorship of this teaching.
- 20 Cf. *Strom.* III 9, 63, 1 (ἐν τῷ κατ’ Αἰγυπτίου); III 13, 93, 1 (ἐν τῷ κατ’ Αἰγυπτίου). Clement’s methodology does not allow the conclusion that he introduces the title of his source on the first occasion when he mentions the document and then assumes that the reader will identify the document by quotation. Rather his reference to the title, here the *Gospel of Egyptians*, is random.
- 21 Cf. *Strom.* II 9, 45, 5 (ἅν τῷ κατ’ Ἑβραίους εὐαγγελίῳ); *Strom.* V 14, 96, 3 (no title); *Paed.* I 6, 25, 2 (no title) and *Strom.* VI 6, 48, 2 which shows similarity with the *Kerygma Petri*, fr. 7.
- 22 Cf. *Strom.* VII 16, 93, 7.
- 23 *Strom.* III 13, 93, 1, trans. J. Ferguson, Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis Book 1–3* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1992).

- John 14:6a: *Jesus said to him, "I am the way, and the truth, and the life"* (ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ὁδὸς καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ ἡ ζωή)²⁴ is referred to ten times.²⁵
- John 10:8a: *All who came before me are thieves and bandits* (πάντες ὅσοι ἦλθον [πρὸ ἐμοῦ])²⁶ κλέπται εἰσὶν καὶ λησταὶ is referred to eight times.²⁷

24 I follow the *New Revised Standard Version. Anglicized Edition with Apocrypha* (Oxford: OUP, 1995).

25 Cf. (1) *Protr.* 10, 100, 1: "The Lord is *the Way* (ὁδός), a narrow way, but coming from heaven," trans. G. Butterworth, Clement of Alexandria, *The Exhortation to the Greeks. The Rich Man's Salvation. To the Newly Baptized* (London: Heinemann, 1919); here Clement combines John 14:6a with Matt 7:13–14; (2) *Strom.* 1 5, 32, 4: "So from this we make the simple assertion that philosophy includes questions concerning truth and the nature of the universe (the truth of which the Lord himself said, *I am the truth* [ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ἀλήθεια]," trans. J. Ferguson; (3) *Strom.* 11 4, 12, 1: "Anyone who has faith in the Word knows that the thing is true, for the Word is truth (ἀλήθεια γὰρ ὁ λόγος)," trans. J. Ferguson; (4) *Strom.* 11 11, 52, 7: "Well, if the Lord is *truth* (ὁ κύριος ἀλήθεια) and *the wisdom and power of God* [cf. 1 Cor 1:24]," trans. J. Ferguson; (5) *Strom.* v 3, 16, 1: "The Word of God says: *I am the Truth* (ἐγὼ φησιν εἰμι ἡ ἀλήθεια)," my translation; (6) *Strom.* vi 9, 77, 1: "And He who has promised is Truth (ἀλήθεια). And through the trustworthiness of Him who has promised, [the Gnostic] by knowledge has firmly got hold of the promise," my translation; (7) *Exc.* 6, 4: "That which came into being in him [cf. John 1:3–4], the Logos was *Life* (ζωή ᾧ), the Companion. Therefore the Lord also says, *I am the Life* (ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ζωή)," trans. R.P. Casey; (8) *Exc.* 19, 2: "and the Life is the Lord (ζωή ἐστίν)," trans. R.P. Casey; (9) *Exc.* 61, 1: "that he was other than what he received is clear from what he professes, *I am the Life, I am the Truth* (ἐγὼ ἡ ζωή, ἐγὼ ἡ ἀλήθεια), *I and the Father are one* [John 10:30]," trans. R.P. Casey; (10) *Quis dives* 16, 2: "For He Himself now becomes a way (ὁδὸς γὰρ αὐτὸς) to the pure in heart," trans. G. Butterworth.

26 The single bracket indicates that the enclosed words' presence in the Greek text is disputed; πρὸ ἐμοῦ are omitted in many manuscripts (P45 vid; P75; 8^{*}; Γ; Δ; Ω;), however attested by the earlier manuscript P66 (200 CE) and others 8²; A; B for the full list and see the *apparatus* to the sentence in Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1986).

27 Cf. (1) *Strom.* 1 8, 40, 5: "These people are ravaging wolves concealed in the fleeces of sheep [cf. Matt 7:15]; they are kidnappers, plausible seducers of souls, secret robbers (κλέπτοντες) whose brigandage is unmasked, directing their efforts to capturing us by guile or violence, with our simplicity and inferior oratorical skills," trans. J. Ferguson; (2) *Strom.* 1 17, 81, 1: "But, people say, it is in Scripture: *All those before the Lord's coming are robbers and bandits* (πάντες οἱ πρὸ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου κλέπται εἰσὶ καὶ λησταί)," trans. J. Ferguson; (3) *Strom.* 1 17, 84, 7: "So *all before the Lord's day were robbers and bandits* (πάντες οὖν οἱ πρὸ κυρίου κλέπται καὶ λησταί)," trans. J. Ferguson; (4) *Strom.* 1 17, 87, 2: "In this way only could the Greek philosophers be called *robbers and bandits* (κλέπται καὶ λησταί), taking from the Hebrew prophets fragments of the truth before Lord's coming, but without full knowledge . . .," trans. J. Ferguson; (5) *Strom.* 1 20, 100, 4: "Once again, it is dishonest to appropriate ideas from foreign people and proudly put them forward as one's own,

- John 10:11: *I am the good shepherd. The good shepherd lays down his life for the sheep* (Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός· ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλὸς τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ τίθησιν ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτων) is referred to eight times.²⁸
- John 15:15a: *I do not call you servants any longer, because the servant does not know what the master is doing; but I have called you friends* (οὐκέτι λέγω ὑμᾶς δούλους, ὅτι ὁ δούλος οὐκ οἶδεν τί ποιεῖ αὐτοῦ ὁ κύριος· ὑμᾶς δὲ εἵρηκα φίλους) is referred to five times.²⁹

puffing up one's own reputation and playing false with the truth. This is the person who Scripture calls *robber* (οὗτος κλέπτης ὑπὸ τῆς γραφῆς εἴρηται),” trans. J. Ferguson; (6) *Strom.* I 21, 135, 2: “But *all these robbers and brigands* (κλέπται πάντες καὶ λησταί) (in the words of Scriptures) made most of their forecasts on the basis of intelligent observation and guesswork,” trans. J. Ferguson; (7) *Strom.* II 1, 1, 1: “The next point would be, since Scripture affirms the Greeks to be *thieves* (κλέπται) of foreign philosophy . . .,” trans. J. Ferguson; (8) *Strom.* V 14, 140, 1: “Therefore it has been, in my view, clearly shown in what way it should be understood that the Greeks were called thieves by the Lord (κλέπτας εἰρήσθαι πρὸς τοῦ κυρίου),” my translation.

- 28 Cf. (1) *Protr.* II, 116, 1: “It is ever God's purpose to save the flock of mankind. For this cause also the good God sent the good Shepherd (τὸν ἀγαθὸν ποιμένα ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἀπέστειλεν θεός),” trans. G. Butterworth; (2) *Paed.* I 6, 37, 3: “And if those who preside over the Churches are shepherds after the model of the good Shepherd (κατ’ εἰκόνα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ποιμένος) . . .,” my translation; (3) *Paed.* I 7, 53, 2: “He calls Himself a shepherd, and says, *I am the good Shepherd* (ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός). He compares himself with shepherds, who lead their sheep, he is the Instructor, who leads the children; the Shepherd who cares for the babes. For the babes are simple, being allegorically names as sheep,” my translation; (4) *Paed.* I 9, 84, 1: “If you wish, you may understand the ultimate wisdom of the most holy Shepherd and Instructor, the omnipotent God and paternal Word, pointing to the place where He allegorically presents Himself as the Shepherd of the sheep (ποιμένα ἑαυτὸν προβάτων λέγων) . . .,” my translation, cf. the whole context *Paed.* I 9, 84, 1–3; (5) *Paed.* I 9, 85, 2: “According to his words He is a good shepherd (τοῦτον γὰρ μόνον ὁμολογεῖ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι ποιμένα),” my translation; (6) *Paed.* I 11, 97, 3: “He alone gave Himself as a sacrifice for us: *For the good Shepherd gives His life for the sheep* (ὁ γὰρ ἀγαθὸς ποιμὴν τὴν ψυχὴν ἑαυτοῦ τίθησιν ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτων),” my translation; (7) *Strom.* I 26, 169, 1: “So, just as we say skill in shepherding is care for the sheep, for *the good shepherd lays down his life for his sheep* (ὁ ἀγαθὸς ποιμὴν τὴν ψυχὴν τίθησιν ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτων),” trans. J. Ferguson; (8) *Strom.* VI 17, 157, 5: “The Shepherd, thus, takes care of each of his sheep” (ὁ γοῦν ποιμὴν καὶ τῶν καθ’ ἕναστων κήδεται προβάτων), my translation.
- 29 Cf. (1) *Strom.* II 9, 45, 3: “The philosopher has a love of truth and is a friend of truth (φιλεῖ δὲ καὶ ἀγαπᾷ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὁ φιλόσοφος); from being a servant he is now through love considered a true friend,” trans. J. Ferguson; (2) *Strom.* VII 11, 62, 7: “Wherefore he [i.e. the true Gnostic], not only praises what is noble, but himself strives to be noble, passing from the condition of a *good and faithful servant* to that of a *friend*, by means of love (ἐκ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ πιστοῦ δούλου μεταβαίνων δι’ ἀγάπης εἰς φίλον),” trans. H. Chadwick, *Alexandrian*

- John 14:2a: *In my Father's house there are many dwelling-places* (ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς μου μοναὶ πολλάι εἰσιν) is referred to five times.³⁰

Contrary to these five most popular passages from *the Gospel of John*, Clement also hints at selected single verses from the Fourth Gospel on 111 occasions. This approach illustrates Clement's very autonomous and flexible incorporation of Johannine material into his theological and didactic framework. Clement's methodology shows that his audience must have been quite well acquainted with at least some passages from *the Gospel of John* probably those most popular in the Alexandrian milieu. We may see that Clement does not want, or even need to explain the context of selected borrowings and metaphors, making the assumption that a short reference is enough to make his point.

What can we say about the nature of these references? Very often they appear *en passant* while Clement discusses an issue and when he needs scriptural support or a clearly recognisable motif. In my view, Clement's adaptation of *John* is quite similar to his treatment of other Christian Scriptures and even other

Christianity (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1954); (3) *Strom.* VII 11, 68, 1: "For by it the Gnostic, owing to his worship of the best and highest, the stamp of which is unity, is made friend and son at once (φιλον ὁμοῦ καὶ υἱὸν τὸν γνωστικὸν ἀπεργάζεται)," trans. H. Chadwick; (4) *Strom.* VII 12, 79, 1: "... in order that one may hear from the Lord the words, *No longer do I call you servants, but friends* (οὐκέτι ὑμᾶς δούλους, ἀλλὰ φίλους λέγω)," trans. H. Chadwick; (5) *Ecl.* 33, 2: "Those who aim to become divine are called [by the Lord] *friends* and *brothers* (φίλους γὰρ εἶπεν καὶ ἀδελφοὺς τοὺς ἐχόμενους τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἀφομοιώσεως)," my translation.

- 30 Cf. (1) *Strom.* IV 6, 36, 2: "For there are with the Lord many rewards and *mansions*, according to people's ways of life (εἰσὶ γὰρ παρὰ κυρίῳ καὶ μισθοὶ καὶ μοναὶ πλείονες)," my translation; (2) *Strom.* VII 2, 9, 4: "As then the remotest particle of iron is drawn by the influence of the magnet extending through a long series of iron rings [Plato, *Ion* 533d–e; 535e; 536a], so also through the attraction of the Holy Spirit the virtuous are adapted to the highest mansion, and the others in their order even to the last mansion (τῇ πρώτῃ μονῇ)..." trans. H. Chadwick; (3) *Strom.* VII 10, 57, 5: "At any rate, after he [i.e. the true Gnostic] has reached the final ascent in the flesh, he still continues to advance, as is fit, and presses on through the holy Hebdomad into the Father's house (εἰς τὴν πατρῶαν αὐλήν), to that which is indeed the Lord's abode..." trans. H. Chadwick; (4) *Strom.* VII 14, 88, 3: "He [i.e. the true Gnostic] is wholly a son, a holy man, passionless, Gnostic, perfect, being formed by the Lord's teaching in order that he may be brought close to him in deed and word and in his very spirit, and may receive that *mansion* (τὴν μονήν) which is due to one who has thus approved his manhood," trans. H. Chadwick; (5) *Ecl.* 48, 1: "For example Peter in the Apocalypse says that the children born abortively receive the better part. These are delivered to a care-taking angel, so that after they have reached knowledge they may obtain the better *abode* (τῆς ἀμείνωνος τύχῃ μονῆς)..." trans. C. Detlef, G. Müller.

philosophical and literary sources. While referring to *John* Clement does not identify the Fourth Gospel as the most authoritative source of reference above non-Christian literature or even as the leading Christian source of Revelation. According to Stählin's index, the largest source among Christian Scriptures are the Pauline letters with 1273 borrowings.³¹ It is thus Pauline authority which greatly inspires Clement and is used in his didactic and theological reflection. How can we compare the allusions to *John* with, for example, the use made of Philo, Plato and Homer? The number of identified borrowings from *the Gospel of John* (335) stands far below the number of references to Plato (618), but it is higher than the number of allusions to Homer (243) and Philo (279). In the case of the latter it is a well-known fact that Clement explicitly and directly mentioned the name of the Jewish theologian and exegete only (!) four times; and two of these were as Philo "the Pythagorean" (ὁ Πυθαγόρειος Φίλων).³² At the same time, while borrowings from Philo are much more extended than those from *the Gospel of John*, it is evident that on at least eight occasions Clement had copies of Philo's works on his desk and that, in his application, he unrolled Philo's scroll while writing his treatise.³³

The same observation applies to Clement's work with the Fourth Gospel. There is clear evidence that Clement had a copy of a manuscript/s of *the Gospel of John* in front of him.³⁴ He also might have had an anthology of sayings from

31 Cf. van den Hoek, "Techniques of Quotation," 230.

32 Cf. *Strom.* I 5, 31, 1; 15, 72, 4 (ὁ Πυθαγόρειος . . . Φίλων); I 23, 152, 2 and II 19, 100, 3 (ὁ Πυθαγόρειος Φίλων). See also David T. Runia, "Why does Clement call Philo 'The Pythagorean'?", *VChr* (1995) 1–22.

33 Cf. Runia, "Why does Clement call Philo 'The Pythagorean'?", 1 and Annewies van den Hoek, *Clement of Alexandria and his Use of Philo in the Stromateis: An Early Christian Reshaping of a Jewish Model* (VChr Suppl. 3; Leiden: Brill, 1988), 211–6.

34 For instance: John 4:32 in *Paed.* I 6, 45, 4 ἐγώ, φησὶν ὁ κύριος βρώσιν ἔχω φαγεῖν, ἣν ὑμεῖς οὐκ οἴδατε. ἐμὸν βρώμά ἐστιν, ἵνα ποιήσω τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με; John 7:18 in *Strom.* I 20, 100, 3: ὁ μὲν ἄφ' ἑαυτοῦ λαλῶν τὴν δόξαν τὴν ἰδίαν ζητεῖ· φησὶν ὁ κύριος, ὁ δὲ ζητῶν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ πέμψαντος αὐτὸν ἀληθὴς ἐστὶ καὶ ἀδικία οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῷ; John 17:21–23 in *Paed.* I 8, 71, 1: ἵνα πάντες ἐν ὧσι, καθὼς σύ, πάτερ, ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἐν σοί, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐν ὧσιν, ἵνα καὶ ὁ κόσμος πιστεύῃ, ὅτι σύ με ἀπέστειλας. καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἣν δέδωκάς μοι, δέδωκα αὐτοῖς, ἵνα ὧσιν ἐν καθὼς ἡμεῖς ἐν. ἐγὼ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ σὺ ἐν ἐμοί, ἵνα ὧσιν τετελειωμένοι εἰς ἐν and John 17:24–26 in *Paed.* I 8, 71, 2: πάτερ, οὓς ἔδωκάς μοι, θέλω ἵνα ὅπου εἰμι ἐγὼ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ὧσιν, ἵνα θεωρῶσιν τὴν δόξαν τὴν ἐμὴν ἣν ἔδωκάς μοι, ὅτι ἡγάπησάς με πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου. πάτερ δίκαιε, καὶ ὁ κόσμος σε οὐκ ἔγνω, ἐγὼ δὲ σε ἔγνω, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔγνωσαν ὅτι σύ με ἀπέστειλας, καὶ ἐγὼ ἔγνωσα αὐτοὺς τὸ ὄνομά σου καὶ γνώρισαν. The further reconstruction of the manuscript/s which was/were used by Clement of Alexandria is beyond the scope of this short paper, for more see Carl P. Cosaert, *The Text of the Gospels in Clement of Alexandria* (SBLNTGF 9. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature,

John (*florilegia*).³⁵ He certainly memorised a great number of passages from this Gospel³⁶ and he referred to them from memory in a less scrupulous way.³⁷

In summary I wish to point out the main features of Clement's method of dealing with *the Gospel of John*. In the case of *John*, as in a similar way to other Gospels (including "non-canonical"), Clement is interested in preserving the message (as he understood) of the Saviour (e.g., "φησὶν ὁ κύριος") and he pays lesser or even minimal attention to their scriptural context. In consequence his methodology selects these words and sentences from their literary background and puts them in the large frame of Clement's teaching. On many occasions Clement amalgamated the passages from *John* with other Gospels and presented his audience with a narrative which was coherent by his exegetical standards.³⁸ In the light of the existing dossier, nothing suggests that Jesus' words and deeds preserved by *John* were treated by Clement as the "leading/primary Gospel," "the most authoritative" source or even that he knew and appreciated *John's* better than other "canonical" Gospels.³⁹ Clement of Alexandria was certainly familiar with *John's* imagery and language, which he

2008). I would like to thank to Veronika Černušková for her recommendation of this valuable study.

- 35 For example, the introductory formula "ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ φησὶν" ("it/he says in the Gospel") used by Clement on many occasions in relation to the "canonical" Gospels may serve as a distinction between the words of Jesus from these sources and other ("non-canonical") documents. As such it could be used in a *floregium* known to Clement of Alexandria.
- 36 For example of John 8:34 in *Strom.* III 4, 30, 3: πᾶς γάρ φησὶν ὁ ἁμαρτάνων δοῦλός ἐστιν ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει. I don't see (unlike Ferguson) in this sentence Clement's erroneous attribution of the passage from John 8:34 to the Apostle Paul (Rom 6:16: οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ᾧ παριστάνετε ἑαυτοὺς δούλους εἰς ὑπακοήν, δοῦλοί ἐστε ᾧ ὑπακούετε, ἥτοι ἁμαρτίας εἰς θάνατον ἢ ὑπακοῆς εἰς δικαιοσύνην). Clement also uses the title "apostle" in relation to John in other places in his oeuvre e.g., *Strom.* III 6, 45, 2: τοῦ ἀποστόλου Ἰωάννου; *Strom.* V 12, 81, 3: καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ ἀπόστολος; *Quis dives* 42, 1: περὶ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Ἰωάννου.
- 37 E.g., cf. *Paed.* I 5, 12, 2: ἐν γοῦν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ σταθεῖς, φησὶν, ὁ κύριος ἐπὶ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ πρὸς τοὺς μαθητάς (ἀλιεύοντες δὲ ἔτυχον) ἐνεφώνησέν [τε], παιδία, μὴ τι ὄψον ἔχετε; and John 21:4–5: πρωΐας δὲ ἤδη γενομένης ἔστη Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὸν αἰγιαλόν· οὐ μέντοι ᾗδρισαν οἱ μαθηταὶ ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστίν. λέγει οὖν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς· Παιδία, μὴ τι προσφάγιον ἔχετε; ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ· οὐ.
- 38 Just to point out one example of that amalgamation: *Protr.* 9, 82, 3: "For except ye become once more as little children and be born again as the Scripture says, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." This passage, as I believe quoted from Clement's memory, combines John 3:5 with Matthew 18:3. I owe this observation to Herman Kutter, *Clement Alexandrinus und das Neue Testament* (Giessen: Richer, 1897), 28.
- 39 On Eusebius' claim (*Hist. eccl.* VI 14, 7) that Clement stated that the Gospel of John is "a spiritual gospel" (πνευματικόν... εὐαγγέλιον), see Stephen C. Carlson, "Clement of Alexandria on the 'Order' of the Gospels," *New Testament Studies* 47 (2001) 118–25.

naturally and smoothly assimilated into his own teaching, often not making any effort to distinguish his notions from those found in the Fourth, and other Gospels.

4 The Role of *the Prologue* (John 1:1–18)

Clement's appropriation of *the Prologue* is highly revealing in many ways. There could be an inclination to suppose that Clement would use *the Prologue* mainly in his work the *Excerpta of Theodoto*, as this opening hymn was commented on in detail by Valentinian theologians such as, for example, Heracleon, Theodotus and even Ptolemaeus.⁴⁰ However a closer and more careful look at Stählin's index shows that all 78 allusions and direct references to *the Prologue* are spread throughout Clement's oeuvre.⁴¹ For instance, in that total number of 78 references to *the Prologue*, only the *Excerpta ex Theodoto* contains 17 citations (approx. 21%) from that hymn.⁴² Of course looking at this number again,

40 For further information see the important study, Thomassen, *The Spiritual Seed*, esp. 193–247.

41 Among 77 references to the *Prologue*, 6 are found in the *Protrepticus* (I 2, 4, 1; 3, 8, 2; 9, 4; 6, 27, 1; 28, 3; 7, 59, 1; 60, 1–2; 62, 4; 11, 97, 3; II 2, 20, 2; 9, 79, 4; 10, 99, 6; III 5, 33, 3); 35 references in the *Stromateis* (I 9, 45, 5; 13, 57, 1; 17, 87, 5; 26, 167, 1; 169, 4bis; 170, 2; II 5, 20, 2; 6, 27, 2; 8, 37, 2; 13, 58, 2; 15, 66, 2; 16, 75, 2; III 7, 58, 1; IV 6, 26, 5; 7, 42, 4; V 1, 1, 4; 3, 16, 5; 5, 29, 6; 11, 72, 3; 12, 81, 3; 14, 100, 4; 103, 1; VI 7, 58, 1; 11, 92, 2; 95, 1–2; 15, 125, 2; 16, 141, 7; 145, 5; 145, 6; 17, 153, 4; VII 3, 16, 6; 17, 1; 11, 68, 1; 13, 83, 2), 17 references in the *Excerpta ex Theodoto* (6, 1; 6, 3bis; 7, 1; 7, 3; 8, 1; 8, 2; 8, 3; 8, 4; 10, 5; 13, 1; 17, 2; 19, 2; 19, 3; 40, 3; 45, 3; 81, 2) and 2 references in *Adumbr.* III (1, 1bis); 2 references in *Quis dives* (8, 1; 37, 1) and 1 reference in *Eclogae* (32, 2).

42 The list of all references to the verses from the *Prologue*: 19 references to John 1:3 (πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν ὃ γέγονεν) in *Paed.* I 6, 27, 1; 11, 97, 3; II 9, 79, 4; III 5, 33, 3; *Strom.* I 9, 45, 5; V 14, 103, 1; VI 7, 58, 1; 11, 95, 1–2; 15, 125, 2; VI 16, 141, 7; 145, 5; 17, 153, 4; VII 3, 17, 1; *Exc.* 8, 1; 19, 3; 45, 3; 81, 2 and *Adumbr.* III 1, 1; 11 references to John 1:1 (Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος) in *Protr.* 1, 6, 3; 6, 5; 7, 3; 10, 110, 2; *Paed.* I 2, 4, 1; 7, 62, 4; *Strom.* V 1, 1, 4; *Exc.* 6, 1; 6, 3; 19, 2 and *Adumbr.* III 1, 1; 10 references to John 1:9 (ἦν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινὸν ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον) in *Protr.* 9, 84, 6; 88, 2; *Strom.* I 13, 57, 1; II 5, 21, 2; 15, 66, 2; V 5, 29, 6; VI 16, 145, 6; *Exc.* 40, 3 and *Ecl.* 32, 2; 10 references to John 1:18 (θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακεν πώποτε μονογενὴς θεὸς ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο) in *Paed.* I 3, 8, 2; *Strom.* I 26, 169, 4; V 1, 1, 4; 12, 81, 3; VII 3, 16, 6; *Exc.* 6, 3; 7, 3; 8, 1; 8, 2 and *Quis dives* 37, 1; 8 references to John 1:14 (Καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός, πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας) in *Paed.* I 3, 9, 4; 7, 59, 1; II 2, 20, 2; *Strom.* V 3, 16, 5; 11, 72, 3; *Exc.* 7, 1; 10, 5; 17, 2; 7 references to John 1:17 (ὅτι ὁ νόμος διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐδόθη, ἡ χάρις καὶ

we have to be very careful not to confuse the places when Theodotus quoted *the Prologue*⁴³ with the instances when Clement of Alexandria cited shorter and longer passages from the opening section of the Fourth Gospel. Secondly, knowing about the importance in Clement's theology of the Christological title the "Logos" or the "divine Logos" we might expect that his exegesis of the Fourth Gospel would highlight, if not celebrate, this specific title. However, studying all allusions and direct borrowings from *the Prologue*, we may clearly see that it is not *the Prologue* which provides Clement with the foundation of his theory of the divine Logos. It rather contributes to, amalgamates and supports that which is already in Clement's mind and that imaginative theory of the divine Logos borrows also from non-scriptural sources, especially from Philo of Alexandria and its cultural and philosophical context: Middle Platonism and Stoicism. There is no doubt that Clement and his audience in Alexandria are very familiar with the Johannine hymn which opens the Fourth Gospel, but in Clement's perception and intellectual reflection *the Prologue* adds what was missing (or what was unconceivable) for both Philo of Alexandria and the

ἡ ἀλήθεια διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐγένετο) in *Paed.* I 7, 60, 1–2; *Strom.* I 26, 167, 1; 169, 4; 170, 2; II 8, 37, 2; VI 11, 92, 2; *Quis dives* 8, 1; 4 references to John 1:4 (ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἦν τὸ φῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων) in *Strom.* IV 7, 42, 4; V 14, 100, 4; *Exc.* 8, 3 and 13, 1; 4 references to John 1:5 (καὶ τὸ φῶς ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ φαίνει, καὶ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸ οὐ κατέλαβεν) in *Paed.* I 6, 28, 3; II 9, 79, 4; 10, 99, 6; *Exc.* 8, 4; 4 references to John 1:12 (ἔσοι δὲ ἔλαβον αὐτόν, ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν τέκνα θεοῦ γενέσθαι, τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ) in *Strom.* II 16, 75, 2 (twice in the same line); IV 6, 26, 5; VII 11, 68, 1; 2 references to John 1:13 (οἱ οὐκ ἐξ αἱμάτων οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος σαρκὸς οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος ἀνδρὸς ἀλλ' ἐκ θεοῦ ἐγεννήθησαν) in *Strom.* II 13, 58, 2 and III 7, 58, 1; 1 reference to John 1:11 (εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἦλθεν, καὶ οἱ ἴδιοι αὐτόν οὐ παρέλαβον) in *Strom.* VII 13, 83, 2; 1 reference to John 1:16 (ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἐλάβομεν, καὶ χάριν ἀντὶ χάριτος) in *Strom.* I 17, 87, 5. The missing verses from the *Prologue* never mentioned by Clement are: John 1:2 (οὗτος ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν θεόν); 1:6 (Ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος ἀπεσταλμένος παρὰ θεοῦ, ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ἰωάννης); 1:7 (οὗτος ἦλθεν εἰς μαρτυρίαν, ἵνα μαρτυρήσῃ περὶ τοῦ φωτός, ἵνα πάντες πιστεύσωσιν δι' αὐτοῦ); 1:8 (οὐκ ἦν ἐκεῖνος τὸ φῶς, ἀλλ' ἵνα μαρτυρήσῃ περὶ τοῦ φωτός); 1:10 (ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἦν, καὶ ὁ κόσμος δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ κόσμος αὐτόν οὐκ ἔγνω); 1:15 (Ἰωάννης μαρτυρεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ κέκραγεν λέγων οὗτος ἦν ὃν εἶπον ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν, ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν).

- 43 The literary genre of the *Excerpta ex Theodoto* makes it difficult to draw a clear line between quotations from Theodotus' work and Clement's comments. Sagnard noted: "...les *Extraits de Théodote* sont d'une interprétation particulièrement difficile. Ce fait tient d'abord à leur nature même: 'note de carnet' découpées, détachées de leur contexte, dépourvues de cette trame que constitue un texte à commenter, un raisonnement à conduire. Cela tient aussi aux réflexions de Clément d'Alexandrie qui s'y insèrent, parfois si parfaitement qu'on distingue mal le point de suture," in Clément d'Alexandrie, *Extraits de Théodote* (Paris: Cerf, 1948), 7.

Middle Platonists: that the Logos recently became incarnate and is still teaching people in His school, which for Clement was identified with his own type of Christianity.

In summary of this section, I wish to point out that, if we assume, in my view quite rightly, that Clement needed many years to compose his existing treatises, his borrowing from *John* and *the Prologue* did not develop with a specific trajectory of quantity at any stage of reflection (i.e. less material from *the Prologue* in the early stages with more borrowings in the later phase). I don't see any reason to assume that, for example *the Prologue* and other more "spiritual" (cf. Eusebius' comment)⁴⁴ passages from *the Gospel of John*, were used in teaching about a more advanced Christian life, while in the earlier stages (i.e. preparation to baptism) the scriptural material would be more simple, plain and literal. Rather Clement's way of dealing with *the Prologue* shows that he used it in a similar way to that in which he used *the Gospel of John*, not making any distinction between the opening hymn and the rest of the Gospel. Both parts, *the Prologue* and *the Gospel of John*, in the format that Clement had on his desk (and we can't be certain that he used only one manuscript) were subjects of his ongoing intellectual and spiritual reflection, not alienated from other materials such as Philo's commentaries on the Logos or the Middle Platonic notion of the Logos, but as, in Clement's view, coherent notions. That coherence, however, did not mean for Clement that all three sources were of the same value. On the contrary, in his outlook on Revelation, the Graeco-Roman philosophy (including Middle Platonism) reflected what was given originally in the Hebrew Scriptures, so well interpreted by Philo of Alexandria.

5 The Role of *John* in the Construction of Clement's Logos-Theology

I have hinted above at the eclectic character of Clement's Logos-theology which combined a number of theological and philosophical threads. In this section I wish to explore that richness of sources and assess their importance in the construction of Clement's Logos-theology. I wish to propose the argument that Clement's creative exegesis of the divine Logos does not stream primarily from the Fourth Gospel and *the Prologue*. Rather it collects together and then reshapes three consecutive traditions:

- a) philosophical with the leading role played by Middle Platonism but also influenced by some Stoic notions,

44 See earlier the footnote 39.

- b) Philo's theology and exegesis
- c) Christian Revelation, which also embraced *the Gospel of John*.

The latter is of the ultimate value for Clement. All these three trajectories came together in the highly eclectic and sophisticated milieu of the polis of Alexandria, where Clement found his spiritual and intellectual home. In brief, to illustrate my hypothesis I wish to recall the scriptural parable of the Sower (Matt 13:1–9; Luke 8:4–8). “The seed,” that is Christian Revelation, also fell on “the good (Alexandrian) soil,” which was saturated in Philonic theology, exegesis and metaphysics and “brought forth the grain:” a visible, vigorous (Clement would say: “orthodox”) and strong (“rational” or “scientific”) theology of the divine Logos. It is possible to elaborate Clement's theology of the divine Logos as the result of an encounter between Christian revelation and Clement's philosophical background. But as I argued on another occasion, this interpretation of his theology of the Logos is insufficient.⁴⁵ There were more than just two factors which shaped Clement of Alexandria's theology of the Logos. First and primarily is his ongoing dialogue with Philo's legacy, which takes place within the philosophical framework of Middle Platonism. Clement, like Philo and some philosophers of his time, recognises that the Absolute, or rather the nature (essence) of the God of the Hebrew Revelation, is beyond our human language and expressions.⁴⁶ That metaphysical status of God “above all” is then assessed through the prism of the existing world, its multiplicity of forms, dynamism of change and transition from birth to death, growth and decay, vulnerability to time, however also with the strong expectation that death and annihilation do not conclude the history of the world. Clement's belief was that eternal silence neither originated this visible, beautiful world, nor it will last after the last phase of history. To Clement the divine Word/Logos is the beginning and the end of the whole of history. Like Middle Platonists, Clement was convinced that the status and the function of the divine Logos is to connect the Apophatic God with the visible reality. However, “to connect” means in Clement's exegesis to reassure his Christian followers about the continuous support, grace, presence and guidance given by the Logos to all humanity. Jews, Greeks, now Christians, men, women even children, are all embraced in the Logos' educational activity. In brief, the Logos is the axis of world-history and is at the centre of the individual journey to God. Clement's visionary

45 See more in my *Clement of Alexandria on Trial. The Evidence of 'Heresy' from Photius' Bibliotheca* (VChr Suppl. 101; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 57–74.

46 This aspect of Clement's theology is well summarised by Henny Fiskå Hägg, *Clement of Alexandria and the Beginning of Christian Apophaticism* (Oxford: OUP, 2006), 153–79.

theology reaffirmed that the Logos is the mediator between the apophatic God and the rest of creatures; he is “the architect” and “the children’s guide (παίδων ἡγῆτωρ).”⁴⁷

Clement’s scenario assumes two stages of existence of the divine Logos, which Clement accepts following his “unnamed” mentor Philo: *intra mentem Dei* and *extra mentem Dei*.⁴⁸ For Clement that Philonic intuition is confirmed by the principal factor: Christian Revelation. Here, however, Clement has to correct Philo’s intuition. The existence of the divine Logos does not distinguish between the original status as God’s Mind and the second, new function as the active principle of creation.⁴⁹ It has to express also the Logos’ incarnation. With the emerging Christian Scriptures, not just with those documents which become part of the Christian canon, Clement finds strong argument to claim that the divine Logos was not only present in each human mind as a rational principle (λόγος),⁵⁰ but that the same divine Logos recently “became flesh,” as Clement wishes to emphasise by using the Johannine idiom (καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο).⁵¹ The divine Logos now identified with the Saviour and Tutor spoke to his disciples with a human voice.⁵² This is a very Christian and un-Philonic turn. This third factor, Christian Revelation channelled by both the oral and written Traditions, is like a recognisable healthy “wheat ear” that is, in Clement’s view, the Christian community identified with his Alexandrian church. But there is also a fourth factor which influenced Clement’s theology of the divine Logos: his polemic with other Christian (“alternative,” “heretical”) interpretations of the existence and the function of the Logos. In brief, those early Christian theologians who meditated upon the Revelation preserved by *the Prologue* and the Fourth Gospel were keen to uphold the existing gulf between all (visible and invisible) creation and the Apophatic Absolute. Only the Father is unchanged, without origin, unnamed and above all characteristics of human language. The Logos, on the contrary, either changes through the stages of his existence (*intra* versus *extra mentem Dei*) or even does not remain one and the same through the history of creation, but alters and goes through

47 Cf. *Hymn of the Holy Clement to Christ the Saviour*, in Anniewies van den Hoek, “Hymn of the Holy Clement to Christ the Saviour,” in M. Kiley (ed.), *Critical Anthology of Hellenistic Prayer* (London: Routledge, 1997), 296–303.

48 Further discussion in my *Clement of Alexandria on Trial*, 58–60.

49 Cf. Philo, *Opif.* 24–25; *Conf.* 172.

50 E.g., *Strom.* v 14, 94, 4–5.

51 Again, eight references to John 1:14 (Καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο) in *Paed.* I 3, 9, 4; 7, 59, 1; II 2, 20, 2; *Strom.* v 3, 16, 5; 11, 72, 3; *Exc.* 7, 1; 10, 5; 17, 2.

52 I have emphasised this aspect of Clement’s Logos-theology in *Clement of Alexandria. A Project of Christian Perfection* (London: T&T Clark, 2008), 215–7.

"transmutations." Even so, it remains the leading spiritual force in revelation and salvation. Against that interpretation, Clement of Alexandria strongly argued and defended the "integrity" and "uniqueness" of the divine Logos.⁵³ Clement's stance was based on a coherent assimilation of the Philonic legacy with Christian Revelation. Along with other Christian writings, *the Gospel of John* (and *the Prologue*) provided the Alexandrian scholar with arguments that the same divine Logos spoke to the Hebrew people, guided Greek and other sages, but most recently revealed himself as the Saviour. In my view, the fact that Clement holds so strongly to Philo's theology throughout all his works immunises him against a seed of dualism present in *the Gospel of John*. Philo's positive theology of creation also weakens Clement's reading of the sharp distinction found in *John* between "the darkness" and "the light," between "children of this world" and "the world to come." In short, Johannine dualism is abandoned by Clement as it is not known to his exegetical master Philo of Alexandria.

6 Conclusion

The aim of my paper was to assess the influence of the Fourth Gospel of Clement's theology of the Logos. I have argued that the place of *John* is, surprisingly, not as the lead in Clement's theology, but rather supportive of what Clement wishes to communicate to his disciples. During the second century, in the still early stages of shaping Alexandrian theology where many Christian groups competed to be recognised as "authentic," "apostolic" churches and commentators of Revelation, Clement's own stance not only assimilated the emerging list of proto-canonical Scriptures, including the four Gospels, but also allocated its value within the intellectual frame deeply saturated with Philonic legacy. Clement's methodology of dealing with various Christian and non-Christian borrowings shows that he was well acquainted with the Johanne corpus, which he often quoted from memory or alluded to as if assuming that his disciples and readers will get his point. That confident didactic proceeding combined individual statements, metaphors and passages from the Fourth Gospel with other sources, but the underpinning theological

53 I am most grateful to Prof. Ramelli for drawing to my attention her paper "Clement's Notion of the Logos 'All Things As One'. Its Alexandrian Background in Philo and Its Developments in Origen and Nyssen," in Z. Plese (ed.), *Alexandrian Personae: Scholarly Culture and Religious Traditions in Ancient Alexandria (1st ct. BCE–4ct. CE)* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 1–12.

conviction remained Philonic: the good God, the Father has generated his divine Logos and as the good universe came into being in the next stage of history, so the same Logos took a new role. Finally, the same caring Logos descended to the human world to teach, admonish and guide towards redemption all who accept his voice. In Clement's image and scenario there was room for all to accept that divine guidance and there was no need to uphold strong Johannine dualistic features.

The Philosophical Problem of “Place” in Clement’s Exegesis of the Prologue to the Gospel of John*

Miklós Gyurkovics

1 Two Concepts

Clement of Alexandria’s explication of three verses of the Prologue of John: *In the beginning was the Word* (John 1:1); *What came to be, through him was life* (John 1:3b–4a); *The only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he has revealed him* (John 1:18), exemplifies two fundamental concepts in his thought. At the beginning of the article it must be stated that these two concepts are not really separable and further that they are found not only in Clement’s discussion of these verses of the Johannine Prologue but in fact pervasively throughout his theological interpretation. The two concepts in question are as follows:

- 1) The theory of consistent principles across the levels of ontological reality.¹
- 2) The theological theory of place.

The theory of consistent principles across different levels of ontological reality considers first of all the existence of reality on three ontological levels: the divine level, the level of the noetic world and that of the material world. This metaphysical view assumes that the fundamental principles that govern the different levels are identical. In fact, the entire cosmic structure is organised in the same way, according to the divine principles. This article seeks to show that

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1 Because of an ambiguity in the concept discussed here, it should be noted that the word I render as “principle” can also mean “law”. In Clement’s theology the Divinity is the Principium, whose intimate mystery can be understood, at least in part, by analogy with the inner logic of the created world. In the case of the world, this inner logic can be called a “law”. When I use the word “law”, by analogy, to refer to a principle operative in the divine realm, the sense of the word “law” is somewhat different, in that God is not governed by anything or anybody. The inner “law” of God is his own essence.

Clement connects the philosophical interpretation of the concept of place with the innermost mystery of God.²

Clement's reflections on "place" in relation to the divinity, however, reveal the complexity of his philosophical and theological thought, as he attempts to determine the ambience, the space and place or position of the matter, noetic and divine realities, respectively.³ In Clement's teaching the two concepts are closely dependent on each other. The three levels of ontological reality, in fact, presume three "places:" divine existence, intelligible existence and material existence, which are organised by the same laws, even though they are also differentiated from each other.

It follows that by revealing the laws and/or principles of divine existence, one at the same time uncovers the laws of intelligible and material existences.⁴ Similarly, because of the invariability of these laws on an ontological level, one can move from knowledge of the laws and principles that operate in the material world to an understanding of the laws of the intelligible world, and even to ascend to the intimacy of the divine world.

2 In the Beginning was the Word (John 1:1)

In interpreting the Prologue of John Clement focuses his exegesis simultaneously on the themes of God, the cosmos and place. Although Clement's

2 In this case the use of the expression "theological theory" is more appropriate than the "philosophical theory" would be.

3 For Clement, the term "place" appears in close connection with the Divine Logos in relation to the following topics: the biblical text as the place of the Logos (cf. *Strom.* I 5, 32, 3; VII 1, 1, 3; 14, 84, 2–3) and the soul of Man as the potential place of the Logos (*Strom.* I 7, 37, 2; II 13, 56, 1; 22, 132, 2; IV 6, 31–33; 25, 162, 5; 26, 163, 1–5; VI 9, 72, 2; 75, 2; VII 2, 10, 2; 5, 29, 4; 7, 35, 3). In what follows, the connection between the Logos and "place" will be discussed more extensively.

4 In *Strom.* IV 25, 162, 2–26, 165, 4, Clement refers to the separate disciplines within the system of education as *topoi* in the conventional manner of the time. And he refers to the fact that every field of knowledge has its own language. Finally, he explains that all scientific areas and terminologies are located within the Divine Logos, since the Divine Logos creates, gives place to, and maintains the noetic and material world, which are, in fact, "places" of research. He also claims that the Divine Logos is the "place" of Physics, Ethics and Logic. He alludes to the triadic structure of man as well: body, intellect and spirit. The last-named element in man seems to be the Pneuma, i.e. the Divine element in man. In any case, this triple character is also evident in the triadic aspect of the Divine Nous: Nous, Pneuma, Logos. Cf. Miklós Gyurkovics, "Il duplice Logos divino e umano. La teologia del Logos da Clemente di Alessandria a Fozio di Costantinopoli," *Eastern Theological Journal* 1 (2015) 99–133; Davide Dainese, *Passibilità divina. La dottrina dell'anima in Clemente Alessandrino* (Roma: Città Nuova, 2012), 61–79, 100–13, 181–225.

exegetical method is highly allegorical, he does not reject the importance of the literal meaning of the text; for this reason, his biblical interpretation might be characterised as "literal allegory." The first words of the prologue prompt Clement to consider the position (or place) of the Divine Logos and to explore the relation between the Divine Logos and the Heavenly Father. The *Principium* (ἀρχή), in which the Divine Logos exists, is identified with so-called divine profundity, with *the bosom* (κόλπος) *of the Father* (John 1:18; cf. *Strom.* II 1, 5, 2–5; 6, 2–3; βυθός, *Strom.* V 12, 81, 3; ἀχανής, *Strom.* V 11, 71, 2–3),⁵ i.e. with the unlimited, formless, indefinite and uncircumscribed place, that is also the place of rest (*Strom.* IV 25, 156–157; 161, 2–3; V 6, 36, 2–4; 11, 71, 5; 74, 4; VII 10, 57, 1; *Exc.* 8, 1; 19, 1–2). In *Strom.* V 11, 71, 3, Clement does not only refer to the Logos, but also talks about the "Greatness of Christ" (τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ Χριστοῦ), which exceeds purely geometrical dimensions,⁶ transcends the circumscribed position of the divinity and goes beyond all intellectual activity focused on the "Almighty" (τῇ νοήσει τοῦ παντοκράτορος). Therefore, the term "Greatness of Christ" reveals an intermediate "place" between God the Father and the Divine Logos.

The phrase "mind of the Almighty" in *Strom.* V 11, 71, 3 recalls *Strom.* V 4, 25, 4–5, where the Holy Spirit is referred to as the "mind of Christ" (1 Cor 2:16) who observes the depths of God (τὰ βάθη τοῦ θεοῦ, 1 Cor 2:10). All of these scriptural and philosophical indicators and attributions describe the character of the

5 For ἀχανής, Alain Le Boulluec refers to Platonic sources of the *Symposium* 210d: "And turning rather towards the main ocean of the beautiful may by contemplation of this bring forth in all their splendor many fair fruits of discourse and meditation in a plenteous crop of philosophy." Alain Le Boulluec, in Clément d'Alexandrie. *Stromate* V, vol. 2 (SC 279; Paris: Cerf 1981), 247; see also: Annewies van den Hoek, "God Beyond Knowing: Clement of Alexandria and Discourse on God," in A.B. McGowan, B.E. Daley and T.J. Gaden (eds.), *God in Early Christian Thought: Essays in Memory of Lloyd G. Patterson* (VChr Suppl. 94; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 38. Compare the concept of ἀχανής with the concept of βυθός: For Clement, it is identical with the Father, who is transcendent and unknowable. Cf. *Gos. Truth* NHC I, 3: 22, 25; 35, 14; 37, 7–8; 40, 27; *Tri. Trac.* NHC I, 5: 54, 21; 60, 18.20.22; 77, 20. Author of Elenchus, *Refutatio* VI 30, 6.7; Irenaeus, *Haer.* I 21, 2; Clement, *Exc.* 29. Additionally, he can also be called βάθος. In connection with the gnostic teachings of Valentinus and Basilides, Clement is also worth reading: *Strom.* II 8, 36, 1–37, 4.

6 According to the teaching of Clement, man can reach the "Greatness of Christ" (εἰς τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ Χριστοῦ). In connection with the topic of "Greatness" (μέγεθος), cf. *Eugnostos* NHC III, 3: 73, 4–8; 95.23–96; NHC V, 1: 3, 6–10; BG (Codex Berolinensis 8502) 86.11–16. The word is also used as a plural: Epiphanius, *Pan.* XXXI 5, 1.4; Valentinian Gnostics: Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* I 1, 1; 2, 1.2; 19, 2; *Tri. Trac.* NHC I, 5: 52, 26; 53, 1; 54, 19ff; 55, 2. The Valentinian Gnostics described the nature of the Father with the term "Greatness" as well. However, Eugnostos the Blessed does not refer to the supreme entity, whereas he does denote other heavenly realities. See also Albinus, *Epit.* x (164, 15–16); Eph 1:19.

divine Nous (mind), which according to *Exc.* 8, 4 and 19, 1–2 is identical with the Divine Logos (ὁ ἐν ταῦτότητι Λόγος),⁷ with the exception that it is not circumscribed.⁸ Thus, it seems that the word *Principium* (ἀρχή) of the Prologue of John in the exegesis of Clement refers to the Divine Nous and at the same time indicates the “place” of the Logos, namely a place where the Logos can rest, which is called the *bosom of the Father* in John 1:18.⁹ By using the image of uncircumscribed fire, Clement affirms that after his circumscription, i.e. delimitation, the uncircumscribed Divine Nous appears as the Divine Logos.¹⁰

- 7 The teaching of the gnostic Theodotus in *Exc.* 7, 3 is in contrast with the teaching of Clement in *Exc.* 8, 2; 19, 1–5. *Exc.* 7, 3: “The only Son remains in the bosom of the Father (John 1:14) The one who appeared here [on earth] is no longer called by the apostle the “only Son” but “like an only Son”. See also *Exc.* 7, 5; *Strom.* IV 13, 90; *Exc.* 26, 1 (the difference between the visible Sophia and the invisible Name of Jesus); *Exc.* 32, 2: Theodotus refers to Christ as the image of Pleroma, who comes from the thought of Sophia. *Exc.* 47, 1–3: The image of the Father of all: a Psychical Demiurgos; the image of the Son: Psychical Christ; the image of the Aeons: the angels. See also André-Jean Festugière, “Notes sur les Extraits de Théodote de Clément d’Alexandrie et sur les Fragments de Valentin,” *VChr* 3 (1949) 193–206. Antonio Orbe, *Estudios valentinianos*, vol. 2 (Roma: Gregoriana, 1956), 139–40. It is also useful to see Plotinus, *Enn.* II 9, 1, 12–44.
- 8 In *Strom.* V 11, 71, 2–3 the Divine Nous is indicated by identical criteria and is also called the Greatness of God. I agree with Sagnard that *Exc.* 8 and 19 come from Clement himself and not from Theodotus. It is worth seeing how Clement cites the Prologue of John: *Exc.* 8, 1: Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἐν ταῦτότητι Λόγον Θεὸν ἐν Θεῷ φαμεν, ὃς καὶ εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ Πατρὸς [John 1:18] εἶναι λέγεται, ἀδιάστατος, ἀμέριστος, εἷς Θεός. *Exc.* 19, 1–2a: Καὶ ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο [John 1:14], οὐ κατὰ τὴν παρουσίαν μόνον ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν Ἀρχῇ [John 1:1] ὁ ἐν ταῦτότητι Λόγος, κατὰ περιγραφὴν καὶ οὐ κατ’ οὐσίαν γενόμενος [ὁ] Υἱός. Καὶ πάλιν σὰρξ ἐγένετο [John 1:14] διὰ προφητῶν ἐνεργήσας.
- 9 In *Strom.* IV 25, 162, 5, Clement describes God as without beginning and without principle, but at the same time as the absolute beginning of the world, as its base and as the principle of its inner law. On the other hand, in the sense of time, God is also without beginning.
- 10 Cf. *Strom.* V 14, 89, 2–4; 90, 1. Although Clement can use the symbol of fire even to refer to the divinity he expresses a reservation about this usage as well, since fire is creation. Cf. *Protr.* 6, 67, 2 (cf. Ps 135:7; Rom 1:25). The Stoics used the symbol of fire; however, Clement’s image of God differs from the Stoic’s one: The God of the Stoics does not bear the strong transcendent feature that characterises the whole theology of Clement; the God of the Stoics lives only in the world. The Divine Logos of Clement, as in Philo, despite the fact that he is present in the world as well, maintains his transcendence; he does not mix with the material world. Although the perspective of this last teaching changes, according to Clement, the transcendent character of the Logos does not cease in spite of the incarnation. Cf. SVF I, 152–177; SVF I, 493–504; SVF II, 299–328. In relation to the differences between the Divine Logos of Philo and the Logos of the Stoics, the following is

In fact, Clement describes this passage by moving from the uncircumscribed to the circumscribed, i.e. from the indefinite to the definite, using the image of self-generated fire, born from himself.¹¹ This reflects his anti-Gnostic polemic which emphasises the generation of the Logos without passion and without the participation of a feminine element (*Strom.* v 14, 114, 1–4; *Protr.* 7, 74, 5; *Exc.* 8, 1–2; 19, 1–2.4–5).¹²

important reading even today: cf. Erwin R. Goodenough, *By Light, Light, the mystic gospel of Hellenistic Judaism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936), 58–60, 390.

- 11 With the image of self-generated fire, Clement describes the dispassionate generation of the Logos. This image, however, has partly Stoic roots and does not accord with the Stoics' doctrine of God. In *Strom.* v 14, 100, 4, Clement uses the image of fire to refer to, on the one hand, God the Father and on the other hand, to the Logos. In any case, God the Father is not only absolutely transcendent, but is also free from passion; therefore, Clement regards the dispassionate generation of the Logos as self-generation. In accordance with this logic, it is not God the Father who is the self-generated, but the Divine Nous/Logos. In this case, the image of self-generated fire does not refer to God the Father, but to the Nous/Logos, whose generation does not require a feminine element. With the image of the self-generated Logos, Clement also emphasises the identity of the circumscribed and uncircumscribed Logos. On the topic of the self-generated Logos, cf. Andrew C. Itter, *Esoteric Teaching in the Stromateis of Clement of Alexandria* (VChr Suppl. 97; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 150–6. See the review of Salvatore Lilla in *Augustinianum* 50 (2010) 576–91, especially p. 590, where Lilla comments on the teaching of Itter (p. 172): "One true self-generating first principle, that is, both Father and Son." These statements, writes S. Lilla, especially the latter, sound rather confusing. For Clement, there is no "one self-generating first principle that is both Father and Son:" God the Father is absolutely ἀγέννητος, as seen in *Strom.* II 2, 5, 4; II, 51, 5; V 12, 82, 1; VI 7, 58, 1 and 18, 165, 5. Only the Logos, in the second stage of this existence, is "self-generating," proceeding from the Father (προελθών, *Strom.* v 3, 16, 5) and thus becoming "the Word," "the Son" and "a being distinct of the Father." Additionally, see my doctoral thesis, which discusses this topic: Miklós Gyurkovics, *Nous e Logos divini nella teologia di Clemente di Alessandria. Un approccio metafisico allo sviluppo del pensiero cristiano su Dio nell'ambiente alessandrino* (Roma: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 2012). For the Stoic teaching, cf. SVF I, 120.134; SVF II, 1133.1134.
- 12 Cf. *Strom.* v 1, 8, 7; 3, 16, 1–5; 6, 38, 7; *Protr.* 10, 98, 4. *Strom.* v 13, 87–88 is an important passage, since Clement here speaks up against the Valentinians who discuss the "confusion of the Logos," cf. *Exc.* 17, 1. Additionally, cf. *Strom.* IV 25, 155–157. Also, according to Ramelli, for Clement there are no divisions in the unity of the Logos, cf. Ilaria Ramelli, "Cristo-Logos in Origene. Ascendenze medioplatoniche e filoniane, passaggi in Clemente e Bardesane, e antisubordinazionismo," in R. Radice and A. Valvo (eds.), *Dal logos dei greci e dei romani al logos di Dio. Ricordando Marta Sordi. Atti del Convegno, Milano, 11–13 novembre 2009* (Milano: Vita e pensiero, 2011), 297. On this topic, see also *Strom.* v 11, 72, 2–3 and VII 2, 5, 4–6.

Clement explains on the basis of the whole verse of John 1:1, and not just one word, that the Divine Nous fulfils the function of the place of the Logos. This does not mean that the Nous is simply the place of Logos. The Divine Nous is not an objective place, it is rather its “function” in which it is like a “place”; that is, it serves as a basis for the hypostatical existence of the Logos. Although, since in the theology of Clement the Divine Nous and Logos seem to be identical beings, with this concept that the Nous is the “place” of the Logos Clement also expresses that the Logos does not need any external thing for his own existence. The Logos exists in himself, that is, on the basis of himself (cf. *Protr.* 10, 98, 4; and also cf. *Exc.* 19, 2–4; *Strom.* V 3, 16, 4–5; 14, 89, 1–7; *Protr.* 1, 7, 1–4; *Paed.* I 9, 88, 1–3; 10, 89, 2).¹³ In his theological interpretation of the concepts of *Principium* (ἀρχή), Divine Nous and Logos, Clement maintains the transcendence of the figure of God the Father who neither exists in any place nor contains anything that is unsustainable or uncircumscribed.¹⁴ God the Father is above Nous and Intellection.¹⁵

3 What Came to be in Him, was Life (John 1:3b–4a)

The terms used by Clement for the generation of the world are very similar to those used to describe the generation of the Logos. In fact, this description originates from the theory of the consistent principles (laws) across the levels of ontological reality. For Clement, just as there is only one single Divine

13 In *Paed.* I 9, 88, 3, Clement considers the Divine Nous/Logos as not undergoing any changes to his own identity, in spite of the fact that his external form is changed. He changes his “position,” in relate to the Father, *ab intra* or *ad extra*: Divine Justice/Light/the Letter of the Law/Body of the incarnated Logos. The Light of the Body, who is the Goodness and the Justice of the Father, is in God and descends (καταβέβηκεν) among the people with the Letter and with the Body—i.e. with the Law and then with the Logos. For Clement, paternal justice does not totally coincide with God the Father, since paternal justice tends to identify with the Logos or the *bosom of the Father*, but not with the First Principle, God the Father. Cf. *Protr.* 1, 7, 3; *Strom.* V 12, 81, 3. From the moment the Logos comes in contact with the world, i.e. upon creation, he then bears different properties in the divine economy according to the functions performed in the cosmos: Demiurge, Revealer, Teacher, Savior. Cf. *Paed.* III 12, 99, 1–2.

14 God the Father is above all places; he is not located in any fixed place. Cf. *Strom.* II 2, 6, 2–3; 22, 132, 2; V 11, 71, 5; 74, 4–5; VI 8, 64, 1–2; 9, 75, 1–2; VII 2, 5, 5; 7, 35, 5.

15 Intellect and Intellection are similar, but not the same. For Clement’s apophatic theology, see *Strom.* II 2, 6, 1; 18, 81, 1; IV 13, 90, 1; 23, 151, 3; 25, 156, 1; V 6, 36, 1; 8, 54, 2; 11, 71, 5; 74, 1; 12, 78, 3; 79, 1; 81, 6 and VII 10, 57, 5.

Logos/Nous, just as matter is the only "principle" of the created world (*Strom.* v 14, 89, 2–90, 1). The world's "principle" is formless (ἀσχημάτιστος), non-existent (*Strom.* v 14, 89, 7; 92, 4), invisible, unformed and akin to the essence of fire (cf. *Strom.* v 14, 90, 1; 90, 4–91, 2; 92, 4; 93, 4–94, 2; 100, 4–5; 104, 2–4). Clement expresses his thoughts very reservedly, as far as the generation of the Divine Logos is concerned. However, he is even more reticent in connection with the generation of creation. The world is generated and only-begotten in the same way that the s(S)on comes from the f(F)ather.¹⁶ Similar to the Divine Logos, the world is also generated and incarnated; this generated world has a body, thanks to which it is visible and tangible.¹⁷

At this stage, however, it is essential to highlight the differences between Clement's accounts of the generation of the world and of the Divine Logos. The Divine Logos comes from the "Divine *Principium* (ἀρχή);" however, the "principle" of the world is material and not divine (*Strom.* v 14, 89, 4–7).¹⁸ According to Clement's interpretation, the symbol of "fire," which transforms into water and then into earth and sky, is not an image of the self-generation of the world as he says in the description of the generation of the Logos. In fact, in this case, image of "fire" is used to describe the activity of the Logos and the all-governing God (*Strom.* v 14, 104, 1–105, 4; 6, 32, 1–3; 38, 2). Following Gen 1:1 and John 1:3, Clement teaches that God creates by his own voice, that is, through His Word/Logos: "God spoke and it was done" (*Strom.* v 14, 89, 3; 92, 1–4; 99, 3). With this exegesis, Clement presents an absolutely transcendent God the Father, who acts through his Logos who is called "Creative Intelligence" and "self-generated."¹⁹ Elsewhere, Clement uses the phrase "Creative Intelligence" (τὸν δημιουργὸν νοῦν) to refer to the Logos of God who comes from Divine Nous, that is immanent in God and who is himself God;²⁰ from this Word originates the whole of creation, Clement states in *Protr.* 7, 74, 5 using the words of

16 On this topic, see also *Strom.* v 14, 102, 1–103, 1, where Clement refers to Pythagorean teaching, referring to matter as the mother of all existence. He also cites the Father and the Son, based on the works of Plato. Cf. Plato, *Ep.* vi, 323d; *Ep.* ii, 312e. Cf. Salvatore Lilla, "Minutiae Clementinae et Pseudo-Dionysianae," in *Paideia Cristiana, Studi in onore di Mario Naldini* (Roma: Gruppo editoriale internazionale, 1994), 23–42.

17 Cf. *Strom.* v 11, 74, 2–4 (Plato-Moses-Basilides); 14, 92, 1–5 (Moses-Plato-Stoa-Barbarian Philosophy/Christian); *Exc.* 19, 2–4; *Strom.* v 6, 34, 1–2.

18 At the same time I agree with S. Lilla that in *Strom.* v 14, 89, 4–7 Clement refers to the idea that the "matter" mentioned at creation cannot be regarded as a real ἀρχή, especially not in the sense of John 1:1. cf. Salvatore Lilla, *Clement of Alexandria. A Study in Christian Platonism and Gnosticism* (Oxford: OUP, 1971), 193–9.

19 *Strom.* v 14, 114, 1–4 (Euripides, *Fr.* 593).

20 Cf. *Protr.* 10, 98, 3; *Strom.* v 1, 6, 3; 3, 16, 5; IV 25, 155, 2.

Orpheus. Here the Lord of the world is called “one” and the only one among all creatures to be born from himself (αὐτογενής); similarly, all other creatures are born from this only one/from himself and from the only one.²¹

The triple aspect of the Divine Logos, as uncircumscribed, circumscribed and incarnate, is also reflected in the cosmological teachings of Clement. In this case, however, the *ousia* of the generation of the Logos is God.²² The generation of the material element, even in the case of primordial matter, comes from an act of creation and not from divine essence, as seen in the case of the Logos. This act of creation is a creation out of “nothing,” carried out by means of the Divine Logos.²³

4 The Theological Theory of “Place” and the Doctrine of the Nous

In the theology of Clement, concepts such as “the region of ideas” (*Strom.* v 11, 73, 3), “the place of ideas” (*Strom.* iv 25, 155, 2–3), and “the circle of all powers” (*Strom.* iv 25, 156, 1–2) reflect on the one hand the metaphysics of Plato and on the other hand the teachings of Philo of Alexandria. The Platonic “place of ideas” in Clement’s philosophy stands for the divinity, in the sense that it is able to hold the universe.²⁴ According to *Strom.* iv 25, 155, 2, the Divine Nous is situated in divine transcendence, immanently in God. Thus Clement can affirm: “The Intellect (Nous) is the place of ideas, God is Intellect (Nous).”²⁵

21 Orphic., *Fr.* 247 Kern. cf. *Protr.* 7, 74, 5.2; *Strom.* vii 5, 28, 7.

22 On this topic, see *Exc.* 19, 1–2: “And the Word became flesh (John 1:14) not only at his coming [to earth] when he became man, but also in the *principium* (John 1:1) the identical Logos became the Son by circumscription and not by essence. And again he *became flesh*, when acted through the prophets.” See the Greek text in note 8.

23 It is important to note that, for Clement, if we interpret the meaning of the term “creation” literally, then we have to think about the concept of creation even if created reality is formless. In other words, “external,” “formless” realities are not necessarily pre-existent; the creation of primordial, formless reality is the first phase of creation, followed by the phase of giving form. Cf. *Strom.* v 14, 92, 1–4 and see also *Strom.* ii 16, 74; v 14, 89, 6–7; 92, 3; 93, 5; 94, 2; 102, 1–5 and vi 7, 58, 1. On the one hand, there is a reference to Platonic ideas, e.g., *Tim.* 48c; on the other hand, Clement alludes to the Bible, especially Gen 1:2.

24 Cf. Plato, *Phaedr.* 247c; *Strom.* i 1, 10, 2; ii 2, 6, 2–3; 13, 56, 1; iv 25, 155, 2; v 11, 73, 2; vii 7, 39, 6–40, 1. In a spiritual sense, Clement also talks about the place of the soul’s escape.

25 *Strom.* iv 25, 155, 2: It is notable that, for Aristotle, Nous is the unmixed form of the spirit, separated from the body and, at the same time, the spirit is the place of ideas; Nous, on the other hand, assumes the role of essence as well. Cf., Aristotle, *De anima* iii 4, 429a27. Cf. also *Strom.* v 3, 16, 3–4; Philo, *Cher.* 49. Salvatore Lilla, *Clement of Alexandria. A Study in Christian Platonism and Gnosticism*, 199–212; *idem*, *Dionigi l’Areopagita e il platonismo*

Although the Prologue of John's Gospel does not mention the phrase "place of ideas," Clement, in his interpretation of the Prologue, refers to a certain "inner situation" of Divine Nous (Logos).²⁶

5 The Concept of the Theological Theory of Place in Philo

For Philo, God is not only unnameable, ineffable and intangible, but he is also above any place or location (see *Somn.* I 67).²⁷ The Divine Logos, however, according to his interpretation of Gen 28:1 (Isaac came upon a place) and Gen 18:33 (Abraham returned to his place) is understood as a place (see *Somn.* I 68–71).²⁸ As already mentioned, the concept of the uncircumscribed Logos represents the metaphysical nature of one denomination of Divine Nous. However, in Clement's theology, the concept "uncircumscribed" is usually used in a different way than in Philo.

In *Paed.* I 6, 25, 1–52, 3 the symbol of the blood and also the voice of the formless Lord are understood as alluding to the philosophical dichotomy

cristiano (LCA 4; Brescia: Morcelliana, 2005), 25; Mark J. Edwards, "Clement of Alexandria and his Doctrine of the Logos," *VChr* 54 (2000) 159–77.

26 Cf. *Paed.* I 6, 27, 1: *What came to be, through him was life* (John 1:3b–4a). This logic is closely linked to the other two examined verses: *The only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father; he has revealed him* (John 1:18) and *In the beginning was the Word* (John 1:1). It is interesting to note that, in *Paed.* I 6, 27, 1–3, Clement also writes about the "will" and "power of God," which also belongs to the immanence of God. On this topic, cf. *Strom.* IV 26, 172; VI 16, 142, 3; *Ecl.* 23, 1–2; *Paed.* I 3, 7, 3; 6, 26, 3 and *Fr.* 48 Stählin. Thus, in the theology of Clement, the essence of God coincides with the "will of God," elsewhere called the "love of God." Cf. *Protr.* 1, 5, 2; 6, 1–2; 10, 110, 3; 12, 120, 4; *Paed.* I 3, 7, 1–9, 4; 6, 45, 4; III 1, 2, 1; *Strom.* V 3, 18, 5–8; 10, 66, 2 and VI 16, 142, 3.

27 Cf. *Somn.* I 61–71 (Gn 28:11); *Post.* 17. Specifically on this topic, see also Anniewies van den Hoek, *Clement of Alexandria and his use of Philo in the Stromateis. An Early Christian reshaping of a Jewish model* (VChr Suppl. 3; Leiden: Brill, 1988), 169–72; Francesca Calabi, "Conoscibilità e inconoscibilità di Dio in Filone di Alessandria," in F. Calabi (ed.), *Arrhetos Theos. L'ineffabilità del primo principio nel Medioplatonismo* (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2002), 35–54; *eadem*, *God's Acting Man's Acting, Tradition and Philosophy in Philo of Alexandria* (Studies in Philo of Alexandria 4; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 39–51.

28 Philo, *Somn.* I 61–67, apropos of Gen 22:3–4, considers three meanings of place: the place occupied by the body (*Somn.* I 62; svf II 504.505), the Logos as the place that God fills with his own power; and the place God himself maintains, where everything else is contained, i.e. God is also a place for himself (Aristotle, *Physics* IV 5, 212b). In *Somn.* I 68–71, the two aspects of the Logos are the metaphysical Logos and the Logos within Man: The intellect of Man is the place of divinisation, which is also the place of asceticism.

between “form” and “formlessness” (without exterior form). Plato, in *Phaedr.* 247d, while describing the main characteristics of the divinity, uses exactly this concept of a “formless being” (ἀσχημάτιστος), which Clement counts among the principal properties of the Divinity.²⁹ However, in the teaching of Philo of Alexandria, formless realities are presented in a different light compared with Clement and Plato, since these formless realities are considered the cause of imperfection and disorder.³⁰ A very eloquent example is found in *Somn.* 11 45, where, apropos of Gen 38:18 (the allegorical interpretation of the signet or seal that Judah gives Tamar), the “beautiful gift that God gives to the soul” is the character or seal that the soul receives. The process of giving the seal means allegorically the removal of all those things which were previously in disorder, when there was an “amorphous essence to form.” Thus, the seal represents the Logos who possesses form, who donates form to the formless, amorphous essence. According to Philo, form, as the “seal” of the soul, brings diversity and an interior quality, while for Clement the form given to the soul affects only its appearance, while its essence remains always the same.³¹ In speaking of the divinity, Clement holds that the “formation” of the Divine Nous (Logos) does not cause such changes in essence, which would make the Logos more perfect or more divine.³² The formation of the divine Logos is directed towards the externalization and revelation of the interior Logos.³³ Similarly, the expression “spirit made flesh” in *Paed.* 1 6, 43, 3 reflects the teaching found in *Exc.* 19, 1–2, where Clement emphasises the identity of the circumscribed Logos with the formless Logos.³⁴ This untraditional theological approach is called the theory

29 Cf. *Strom.* 1 24, 163, 6 (the formless, invariable light); v 6, 36, 1–3 (the Ogdoad-intelligible world-formless God); vi 3, 34, 3 (the voice of the Lord is the formless Logos); and *Exc.* 11, 2; 12, 3.

30 Cf. *Her.* 156–157.

31 Cf. *Paed.* 1 6, 40, 1–2; 44, 3; 45, 3. On the topic of matter without form and quality in Clement, cf. *Ecl.* 2, 1–3 and Carlo Nardi, *Il battesimo in Clemente Alessandrino. Interpretazione di Eclogae propheticae 1–26* (SEAug 19; Roma: Augustinianum, 1984), 21–8.

32 For Clement, the essence of both the Logos without form and the Logos that has been formed are perfectly divine. It is interesting to think about how strongly Philo links essence to form, i.e. whether we can talk about essence without form.

33 *Paed.* 1 6, 38, 2 (Body and blood: the light of faith and promise); 39, 1 (primary and spiritual teaching); 41, 3 (spiritual food for the wise); 49, 4 (symbols of suffering and teaching of the Lord); *Strom.* vi 3, 34, 2 (different aspects of the voice of the Lord).

34 *Exc.* 19, 1–2; *Paed.* 1 6, 43, 3: the incarnate, formed Logos/Spirit; *Paed.* 1 6, 46, 2: heavenly body.

of the dual incarnation of the Logos.³⁵ *Exc.* 19, 1–2 and *Paed.* I 6, 37, 3 and 39, 5 clearly confirm that the exterior form of the Logos, i.e. the circumscription of the Logos, does not involve any change in the inner essence of the Logos.³⁶ In Clement's theology the Divine Nous is identical with the Divine Logos, that is, the Logos is the circumscribed Divine Nous. It seems, however, that the Divine Pneuma is also identical with the Divine Nous, while, the Logos and the Pneuma are not identical in every aspect. Moreover, it also needs to be taken into account that the Divine Nous and the *ousia* of God are apparently identical as well. All in all, we can assume that Clement regarded the Divine *ousia* as the ἀρχή of Divinity. The Father, however, according to his teaching, exceeds even the ἀρχή. The Divine ἀρχή—the Nous—is formless and the Divine Logos and the Divine Pneuma come out of him. This difficult theological discussion caused confusion among previous translators and manuscript copiers as well, see for example: *Protr.* 10, 98, 4; *Paed.* I 6, 43, 2–3; II 2, 19, 3–4; *Strom.* IV 25, 162, 5; *Exc.* 19, 4.³⁷

35 For the dual aspect of self-formulation and formulation, cf. Santiago Fernández Ardanaz, *Genesis y anagenesis. Fundamentos de la antropología cristiana según Clemente de Alejandría* (Victoria: ESET, 1990), 236.

36 The theme of the child is an important image in *Paed.* I 6, 25–52. In *Exc.* 19, 2, one name for the Redeemer is: "The child of the identical Logos." With this expression, the invariability in the substance of the Logos is expressed. Cf. Orbe, *Estudios Valentinianos*, vol. 2, 129–33.

37 *Exc.* 19, 4: Εἴτα ἐπιφέρει Πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως. Ἀοράτου μὲν γὰρ Θεοῦ εἰκόνα [Col 1:15] τὸν <υἷον> λέγει τοῦ Λόγου τοῦ ἐν ταῦτότητι. In the transcription and interpretation of the text the following differences are: Stählin (Bunsen) τὸν λόγον τοῦ λόγου L (*Bibl. Laurenziana, Laur. V3*) P (*Paris Bibl. nationale, Suppl. grec 250*) τὸν λόγον <λέγει> τοῦ λόγου Casey <ἄν> τὸν λέγει τοῦ λόγου Ruben. [SC 23 (1948) F. Sagnard, p. 94]. The texts of LP are also acceptable as the first Logos indicates the formless Logos that is also called Nous by Clement elsewhere, while the second Logos is the circumscribed Logos. In *Exc.* Clement emphasizes the identity of Nous and Logos, therefore he could write it without hesitation that the Logos comes from the Logos.

Strom. IV 25, 162, 5: ὅθεν καὶ διδάσκαλος μόνος ὁ λόγος ὑψίστου ἀγνοῦ πατρός, ὁ παιδεύων τὸν ἄνθρωπον. [λόγος Schwartz Stählin: μόνος L in SC 463 (2001) A. van den Hoek and C. Mondésert, p. 328]. μόνος ὁ λόγος υἱὸς τοῦ νοῦ πατρός Schwartz Stählin. μόνος ὁ λόγος ὑψίστου <υἱὸς> τοῦ νοῦ πατρός Stromati (Milano 1985) G. Pini, p. 894.

Protr. 10, 98, 4: εἰκὼν μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ [2 Cor 4, 4] ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ (καὶ υἱὸς τοῦ νοῦ γνήσιος ὁ θεῖος λόγος, φωτὸς ἀρχέτυπον φῶς) [SC 2 (1949) C. Mondésert, p. 166] The conception fits into Clement's theology that the Logos is the son of the Nous. The sentence above refers to that the Logos comes from the Nous; here the Nous does not concretely mean the Father, but the Nous in the Father (the formless Logos).

6 Clement's Theological Theory on Place from a Platonic Perspective

In Clement's exegesis of the description of the Old Testament tabernacle in Exod 25–26, the golden candlestick refers allegorically to Christ, i.e. the Divine Logos, because it spreads its light *in many ways, in many directions* (*Strom.* v 6, 35, 1; Heb 1:1).³⁸ As for the ark of the covenant, Clement claims that this is one certain place, different from all other places. This symbol of “one certain place,” according to Clement, is ambiguous; he proposes that this place may indicate the Ogdoad, the intelligible world or the formless and invisible God who embraces all things around him. Clement, however, considers the “place of rest” the most important meaning, since praising souls rest there, as is also portrayed on the ark by figures of the cherubim.³⁹ To summarise, in this brief text, three concepts that indicate different realities can be distinguished:

- 1) the Ogdoad, the intelligible world;
- 2) God who is without form invisible and embracing all things around him;
- 3) the place of rest with spirits.

In the fifth book of the *Stromateis*, Clement discusses the idea of “place” in speaking of the God of the Bible.⁴⁰ Some of the expressions he uses here may come from Philo or from other Platonic thinkers. The metaphysical idea of ἀνάπαυσις (“rest”) reflects the thought and vocabulary of Plato's *Timaeus*, with which Clement's theology accords well.⁴¹ The main theme of *Strom.* v 6, 36, 3 is introduced with a rather enigmatic expression: “One place, which is another place among all the places.” According to *Tim.* 30c the intelligible world which

Paed. I 6, 43, 3: ὁ κύριος πνεῦμα καὶ λόγος. ἡ τροφή, τοῦτέστιν <ὁ> κύριος Ἰησοῦς, τοῦτέστιν ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, πνεῦμα σαρκούμενον, ἀγιαζομένη σὰρξ οὐράνιος [SC 70 (1960) H.-I. Marrou, M. Harl, p. 188]. Here the Pneuma signifies the formless Logos, while the circumscribed Logos refers to the “incarnated” Logos. In the context of *Paed.* I 6, 43, 3 the Logos for Christians is solid nutrition (circumscribed, incarnated) and liquid nutrition (formless) at the same time.

38 Cf. Exod 25:31–40; 26:35.

39 *Strom.* v 6, 36, 3–4. An interesting approach is offered on this topic by Bogdan G. Bucur, *Angelomorphic Pneumatology: Clement of Alexandria and Other Early Christian Witnesses* (VChr Suppl. 95; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 79.

40 Cf. *Strom.* v 1, 4, 1–4; 6, 33, 1–34, 1; 36, 3; 11, 71, 1–12, 82, 4.

41 The concept ἀνάπαυσις is identical to the meaning of place, with concepts of different philosophical schools, e.g., the Pythagorean concept of unity and the Philonical “place of Logos.”

Clement mentions in *Strom.* v 6, 36, 3, contains all intelligible beings in itself, in the same way as the visible world contains visible beings. Clement refers to this teaching in *Strom.* v 14, 93, 4–5 as coming from the “barbarians,” i.e. the Christians.⁴² Plato, in *Tim.* 30b, speaks of the “cosmic rule of embracement.” The universe is composed of intelligence in the soul and the soul in the body.⁴³ Clement, even in cases where his language is theological rather than philosophical, understands “place” as that which embraces and collects existing realities. Since, in the teaching of Clement, there are various types of realities, the place which collects and embraces must be adapted to the relevant embraced reality. The material cosmos embraces material realities, while the noetic cosmos embraces intelligible realities. The logic of “enclosure” also expresses a limit of “capacity” of the container. According to this limit, a place is circumscribed with a specific border that also constitutes its own shape, i.e. the appearance of place. In other words, Clement describes the concept of “place” according to the criteria of its substance and expansion. The material cosmos in all its entirety, in the view of Clement, is situated in an “adequate place.” Thus this place has to be material and of an appropriate size. It is similar for the noetic world. However, according to the logic of Clement, the two worlds, even if they are different, are not separated from each other, but one is in the other. Similarly, the noetic, intelligible place embraces intelligible realities. The noetic “place” that contains and embraces the intelligible world must be larger than the intelligible realities contained in it. It seems to me that, according to Clement, the one who embraces the intelligible world with its intelligible realities is the Divine Logos, who takes shape and comes from the Father in order to create the world, who himself creates the world of himself: *What came to be, through him was life* (John 1:3b–4a; cf. *Paed.* I 6, 27, 1).

The *bosom of the Father* (John 1:18)—the Logos without form and limits—contains formless, noetic, intelligible realities, uncircumscribed divine thoughts and undefined ideas. In this interpretation, Divine Nous takes the role of the *Principium* (ἀρχή) of Genesis, in which matter is presented without quality and without form or primordial fire (*Strom.* v 14, 89, 7–90, 1; 104, 1–5). The circumscribed Logos contains formulated ideas, i.e. realities of the noetic world in a defined form. It should be noted, first, that both cases involve realities of the noetic world. Secondly, it ought to be highlighted that we are framing places, spaces, containers and receptacles in symbolic language, according to the analogue of their functions.

42 “Barbarian” in this form does not originate from Hellenistic philosophy.

43 Similarities are to be found in the thought of *Corp. Herm.* II 6.12; XII 13–14; XIII 4.

Clement's language of "theological places" expresses the functions of containment and domination. The realities inside the places are dominated by the power of the space according to their essence, i.e. noetic laws dominate noetic realities just as material laws govern material realities. Similarly, material realities are dominated by the material place and noetic realities are dominated by noetic place.⁴⁴ This teaching reflects Christian interpretation of the second letter of Plato, which uses the image of concentric circles: "The King of All are all things, and for his sake they are, and of all things fair beautiful He is the cause. And related to the Second are the second things and related to the Third the third."⁴⁵ Clement admits that he cannot interpret this Platonic teaching in any other way but as an indication of the Holy Trinity. In other words, the third is the Holy Spirit and the second is the Son, through whom everything is done according to the will of the Father.⁴⁶

7 Conclusion

Clement of Alexandria reads the Prologue of John's Gospel from a dual perspective; one is his Logos-theology, the other is determined by the first lines of the Book of Genesis. He also develops an exegesis according to a strictly philosophical method, based on dialectical rules. The purpose of his exegetical method—aptly entitled, academic—is to lead his reader to a contemplative and intellectual vision of God, in a "place" which is closer to the ineffable God, who creates through his Word and teaches via his Son.

The Word or the Divine Logos is the cosmic principle for Clement, namely the *bosom of the Father*, identical to Divine Nous. At the same time, the Divine Nous is the "immense place" of the Divine Logos. The Divine Logos is "the place" of the noetic cosmos, while the material world is embraced by the noetic cosmos. The divine Logos, due to its identical divine essence and because of its cosmic circumscription, is the only mediator between the Father and the material cosmos, through which he penetrates and dominates all. The philosophical-theological exegesis of the Prologue, even if it does use allegory, remains strongly tied to the text's literal sense, as it takes seriously every literal "sign" of the Prologue. In this framework, philosophical images

44 Cf. *Strom.* v 6, 36, 3: One place which is another place among all the places . . . the place of rest. For a comprehensive explanation of *Strom.* v 6, 36, 3, apropos of Exod 28:12.17–20 and potential references to Philo and gnostic references, see Le Boulluec, SC 279, 148–50.

45 Plato, *Ep.* 11, 312e.

46 *Strom.* v 14, 103, 1. Cf. *Protr.* 6, 68, 5; 12, 118, 4 and *Strom.* VII 2, 9, 3.

literally become theological realities. An example of this interpretation is the philosophical expression the "region of ideas," which Clement of Alexandria identifies with the philosophical concepts of *Nous* and the *bosom of the Father* (John 1:18). In a reinterpretation of *Tim.* 48e–49a, expressions such as "Model Form," "intelligible and ever uniformly existent," "Model Copy," "subject to becoming and visible" and "the receptacle" are used as theological concepts to describe the Christian philosophy of Clement. Thus, the divine Logos is the "place" of all creation. The cosmic, noetic and material movements occur in the arms of God. God is the source, support and the end of the universe, which is united with him by the Divine Logos.

Clement's Exegesis of 1 John in the *Adumbrationes**

Davide Dainese

Wovon man nicht sprechen kann, darüber muss man schweigen.

L. WITTGENSTEIN, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, proposition 7



1 Introduction

Offered in the context of a conference focused on the scriptural exegesis of Clement of Alexandria, the following paper concentrates on his systematic interpretation of 1 John. This interpretation is found in a writing whose authorship in the previous centuries was not at all certain and has never been subjected to systematic scrutiny—or even a translation into a modern language.¹

* I would like to thank Judith Kovacs for her precious help in editing my paper in correct English.

For translating into English Clement's text, my starting point is the English version provided by the vol. 2 of the series *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, where possible, which I modified at occurrence by comparing it with the original Greek.

- 1 Following Le Boulluec's conclusions on the relationship between Clement's thought and exegesis (see also, below, note 5), which—I believe—ask that scholars rethink the problematic texts published in his *Hypotyposes*, studying Clement's interpretation of single scriptural passages or biblical books regains relevance under new profiles. See Alain Le Boulluec, "Extraits d'œuvres de Clément d'Alexandrie. La transmission et le sens de leurs titres," in J.C. Fredouille et al. (eds.), *Titres et articulations du texte dans les œuvres antiques* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1997), 287–300, here 297–8; reedited in C.G. Conticello (ed.), *Alexandrie antique et chrétienne. Clément et Origène* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 2006), 108–33. That is, the surviving exegeses such as *Hypotyposes* or *Adumbrationes* should thus be appreciated as related to high moments of Clement's "speculation." From this perspective, therefore, it seems particularly interesting to call attention to the exegesis of 1 John in the *Adumbrationes* where the text of the Holy Scriptures, in this case a "canonical epistle," is interpreted in its entirety and within a portion of Clement's work that is short enough to be considered here. I would like to stress that, beyond the philological analysis by Michael Mees, *Die Zitate aus dem Neuen Testament bei Clemens von Alexandrien* (Quaderni di VetChr 2. Bari: Istituto di Letteratura Cristiana Antica, 1970), 180–2, Clement's exegesis of 1 John has never been the object of a comprehensive analysis. In fact, we could say that, on the whole, in comparison to Origen, the role of Clement as an exegete has been quite neglected,

I shall focus particularly on Clement's reading of 1 John 2:7 and 1 John 5:16–17 as case-studies in order to investigate a number of peculiarities of Clement's exegesis in connection with other passages in his work that promise deal more extensively with the theme of "first principles."

I begin with an introductory summary of what is known of the *Adumbrationes* in general in order to highlight the main characteristics of this *corpus* of scriptural interpretations attributed to Clement. After this I shall concentrate on the interpretation of 1 John, attempting first to show briefly how the content of the exegesis in the *Adumbrationes* relates to the exegesis of 1 John in other works of Clement. Following this, I shall examine the two particular case studies, arguing first that they provide new data relevant to the the views of Pierre Nautin and Alain Le Boulluec concerning the nature of certain works of Clement preserved in the manuscripts² and secondly that these passages provide a new perspective on the *Adumbrationes*.

2 The *Adumbrationes*³

2.1 Presentation of the Text

The *Adumbrationes* are four exegetical texts related to certain passages of the "Catholic" epistles (specifically 1 Peter, Jude, 1 John and 2 John). They have

except by some important contributions, like: Annewies van den Hoek, "Techniques of Quotation in Clement of Alexandria. A View of Ancient Literary Working Methods," *VChr* 50 (1996) 223–43, the works of Alain Le Boulluec, recollected in Le Boulluec, *Alexandrie antique et chrétienne*, 325–435 and, more recently, Carl P. Cosaert, *The Text of the Gospels in Clement of Alexandria* (SBLNTG 9, Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008).

- 2 See Pierre Nautin, "La fin des Stromates et les Hypotyposes de Clément d'Alexandrie," *VChr* 30 (1976) 268–302. Nautin's position today is endorsed by Patrick Descourtieux, *Clément d'Alexandrie. Stromate VI* (SC 446; Paris: Cerf, 1999), 399; Alain Le Boulluec, "Commentaire," in *Clement d'Alexandrie. Stromate V*, vol. 2 (SC 279; Paris: Cerf, 1997), 7 and 330, as well as "Extraits d'œuvres de Clément d'Alexandrie," 289, 292, 296, 300 and "Pour qui, pourquoi, comment? Les 'Stromates' de Clément d'Alexandrie," in J.D. Dubois and B. Roussel (eds.), *Entrer en matière: Les prologues*, (Paris: Cerf, 1998), 23–36, 24; Bogdan G. Bucur, "The Place of the *Hypotyposeis* in the Clementine Corpus: An Apology for 'The Other Clement of Alexandria,'" *J ECS* 17 (2009) 313–335. Against Nautin's hypothesis see Annewies van den Hoek, "Introduction," in *Clément d'Alexandrie: Stromate IV* (SC 463; Paris: Cerf, 2001), 13; Carlo Nardi (ed.), *Clemente Alessandrino, Estratti Profetici* (Firenze: Nardini Editore, 1985), 11. I think that we may give a different perspective on the so-called "Other Clement" compared to Nautin's hypothesis. And I believe that we should take into account Le Boulluec's emphasis of the proximity between Clement's thought and Clement's biblical exegesis without endorsing Nautin's thesis.

- 3 As the *Adumbrationes* are not divided into paragraphs but structured only according to the biblical verse, I will refer to these passages as follows: e.g., *Adumbr.* 111 (which indicates

reached us thanks to the Latin translation commissioned by Cassiodorus and—perhaps—made by Mutianus⁴ in the 6th century. These four long fragments are traditionally considered part of a much larger work, likely in seven or eight different books, mentioned by sources following Clement, entitled the *Hypotyposes*.⁵

the number of the *Adumbrationes* I am referring to) 2, 7 (which indicates the biblical passage that Clement is interpreting). As for biblical references and quotations from Clement's texts I will translate into English only the ones that are particularly important for my argument.

- 4 As seen in *Adumbr.* I 8, 4. We do not know much about this figure, who was one of Cassiodorus' translators (Cassiodorus calls them often also "friends" of him, see e.g., *Inst. div.* I 5, 2; I 6, 6; I 9, 1; I 9, 5; I 17, 1) at his Vivarium. He mentions him two times, both of them as *vir disertissimus* (as quite usual, actually, for his translators), in his *Institutions*: first at *Inst. div.* I 8, 2 (where he refers that Mutianus had translated thirty-four homilies on Heb by John of Constantinople); second at *Inst. div.* II 5, 1 (where Cassiodorus says that Mutianus was the translator of Gaudentius' work Ἀρμονικὴ εἰσαγωγή). After mentioning Mutianus, both in *Inst. div.* I 8 and in II 5, Cassiodorus introduces Clement of Alexandria. On Mutianus see, in general, John R. Martindale, *A.D. 527–641* (vol. 3 of A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale and J. Morris eds., *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 907 and Charles Pietri (†) and Luce Pietri, *Prosopographie de l'Italie Chrétienne* (313–604). L–Z (vol. 2.2 of *idem*, *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire*, Rome: École Française de Rome, 2000), 1528.
- 5 For the denomination of *Hypotyposes*, see Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* VI 13, 2; VI 14, 1; the annotation (*Libri Dispositionum*) by Rufinus of Aquileia to Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* V 11, 2; Photius, *Cod.* 109 and 111. It deals with a title that is similar to a work linked with the enigmatic—as they are not mentioned by Eusebius but only later by Athanasius (*Ep. Serap.* 4) and Photios primarily (*Cod.* 106)—figure of Theognostus of Alexandria and with Sextus Empiricus, see Theodor Zahn, *Supplementum Clementinum*, vol. 3 of *idem*, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur* (Erlangen: Deichert, 1884), 130–1. In the work of Photius, *Cod.* 106, a sort of "index" is found in seven books of Clement's *Hypotyposes*: the first dedicated to the Father, the second to the Son, the third to the Holy Spirit, the fourth to the angels, the fifth and the sixth to the incarnation, and the seventh book to a summary. In terms of the *Adumbrationes* belonging to the *Hypotyposes*, see Zahn, *Supplementum Clementinum*, 134–8, which unfortunately still remains the closest analysis to the *status quaestionis* of the authorship of the *Adumbrationes*. For my argument it is relevant to recall here what Alain Le Boulluec says about the *Hypotyposes*. More specifically I wish to remind the reader that Clement uses the verb ὑποτυπῶσθαι and the noun ὑποτύπωσις in his *Paedagogus* when he "sees in the words of Jesus, of the apostles, or in the 'Scriptures' and in the images of the Bible a 'living representation' of the perfect life or of some moral behavior" (see Le Boulluec, "Extraits d'œuvres de Clément d'Alexandrie," 119). And this occurs throughout Clement's *corpus*, not only in the catalogued fragments such as *Hypotyposes*, in the *Adumbrationes* (whether they are or are not a part of the *Hypotyposes*), and in the *Eclogae Propheticae*, because the very "figure" of *hypotyposis* is "the metaphor for the relationship between the reader and the book, between the author and his text" (*ibid.*, 120). In other words, these writings share an ultimate aim with the *Stromateis*: mediating between

The Latin text was passed down in three manuscripts, the *Codex Laudunensis* 96 of the end of the 8th–beginning of the 9th century (L), the *Codex Berolinensis latinus* 45 of the end of the 12th–beginning of the 13th century (M) and the *Vaticanus Latinus* 6154 of the 16th century (V). Only L and M mention or allude in the title to the definition of the *Adumbrationes*.⁶ The *Editio princeps* of the text dates back to Marguerine de la Bigne (based only on M)⁷ and his text was often been taken up and republished prior to the first critical edition by Theodor Zahn (1884). Today, the authoritative edition remains the one produced by Otto Stählin and edited by Ludwig Früchtel and Ursula Treu.⁸ The only Greek fragment is preserved in the *Sacra Parallela* by John of Damascus⁹ and corresponds to *Adumbr.* III 2, 3.¹⁰

The exegetical format adopted in the *Adumbrationes* is substantially the same as in the fragments of the *Hypotyposes* preserved by Oecumenius as described by Theodor Zahn: The scriptural lemma is followed by “that is [τουτέστιν]” and by the relevant explanation;¹¹ indeed, following the biblical text found in the *Adumbrationes* there is almost always “that is (*scilicet* or a similar form),” followed by the text’s exegesis. In contrast to Origen, Eusebius, Didymus and Augustine¹²—the stylistic feature that characterizes these fragments is the absence of an overall, introductory interpretation within which to place the specific exegesis of the different short verses, which are later

the holy text and a tradition of its interpretations of which Clement clearly believed himself to be a part. It is no coincidence that the word ὑποτύπωσις is the same which Clement uses in numerous passages to describe his own “annotations”—ὑποσημειώσεις/ὑπομνήματα—in which he says a memory of the received teachings is preserved (*Strom.* I 1, 12, 1; 14, 2; 16, 1; 12, 56, 3; II 1, 1, 2; IV 1, 1, 3; see *ibid.*, 120).

6 L, f. 1^r, *Ex opere Clementis Alexandrini, cuius titulus est pery* [sic] *hipothypotyposeon* [sic], *de descriptionibus adumbratis*; M, f. 1^r, carries the title of *Incipiunt Adumbrationes Clementis Alexandrini in epistulas canonicas* and in terms of the f. 6^r reads *Expliciunt Adumbrationes Clementis in epistulis canonicis*. V, f. 199^r, instead carries the title of *Expositiones Clementis episcopi Alexandrini in epistulas canonicas*.

7 In *Sacra bibliotheca sanctorum patrum* (Paris, 1575), VI, 625–634.

8 Published in *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* (vol. 217, 1970).

9 See Karl Holl, *Die Sacra Parallela des Johannes Damascenus* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1897), 298.

10 There is, however, an interesting similarity between the Latin text of *Adumbr.* I 5, 13 and the account in Greek of Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* VI 14, 6–7, which affirms Clement’s authorship of these texts. I will not discuss this here, see Davide Dainese, *Clemente Alessandrino. Adombrazioni* (Milano: Paoline, 2014), 188–91.

11 See Zahn, *Supplementum Clementinum*, 133.

12 See Karen J. Torjesen, *Hermeneutical Procedure and Theological Method in Origen’s Exegesis* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1986), 29–30.

examined one by one.¹³ Furthermore, any explicit reference to readers or an audience is missing,¹⁴ despite the fact that in some cases it is possible—through a comparison with other texts from Clement’s work—to place specific passages of the *Adumbrationes* within more precise polemical contexts.¹⁵ The discussion usually proceeds verse by verse, except in certain cases, where alteration on the part of the translator is a possibility.

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- 13 On the contrary, in terms of the Origenian exegesis of Ps 37, Torjesen notes in *Hermeneutical Procedure*, 23–24 that Origen usually precedes each of his exegeses with an introduction that attempts to take into account the addressee.
- 14 Note, however, in *Adumbr.* 1 3, 15 that the allocution, “find this [*sic habes*],” may suggest an oral dialogue, but is far too isolated from which to draw safe conclusions. In fact, it could be explained thusly: either as an improper personal form translated impersonally; or, by the hypothesis that it deals with an esoteric—scholastic—writing. Indeed, it may be understood as the report of students taking note of what has been learned from the teacher, which may apply to a number of passages in the *Stromateis*.
- 15 On the addressees and interlocutors of a fragmentary piece of writing or a piece of writing of uncertain provenance, it is difficult to draw safe conclusions, particularly as we may be dealing with material belonging to an undefined phase in the doctrinal elaborations of Clement, as we shall see. Nonetheless, we may highlight some potential, if oblique, polemical targets of Clement’s, of which I have attempted to provide appropriate investigative notes in the commentary on the text. I specifically mention the following: in *Adumbr.* 1 1, 12.23, the traces of criticism directed toward the Valentinians; and elsewhere (4, 10–11; 2, 13; 3, 2, 8), objections made more generally in terms of gnostic groups (as may be understood by references to the persecutions in 1 Pet 4.17). On this topic, see Davide Dainese, “The Idea of Martyrdom in *Stromateis* VII: A Proposal for a Reconstruction of Clement of Alexandria’s Philosophy,” in M. Havrda, V. Hušek, and J. Plátová (eds.), *The Seventh Book of the Stromateis. Proceedings of the Colloquium on Clement of Alexandria, Olomouc, October 21–23, 2010* (VChr Suppl. 117; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 217–38. Similarly, the controversy concerning encratic (Adumbr. 11 6) and lascivious (II 9) behavior suggests that the interlocutors are Gnostics, if we take into account that, mainly in the entirety of the *Strom.* III, Clement classifies the different groups of his adversaries—the Gnostics primarily—on the basis of these ethical categories. Nonetheless, it is entirely possible that they are not Gnostics, since these are the same ethical criticisms that Clement levels against the Christians in the *Paedagogus* and the pagans in the *Protrepticus*. Furthermore, we can detect a Christological motive in *Adumbr.* 1 1, 20, which Clement often employs in anti-pagan apologetic contexts (the theme of Christ that, while very ancient, had only recently appeared). This refers to a setting of Clement’s polemics that is also recalled in 2, 13, where “those who err” are mentioned, an expression used to indicate the pagans in *Protrepticus*.

2.2 Problems

Although the codex L indicates, in the title of the *Adumbrationes*, that they are “of the work” of Clement, “whose title is ‘perý hipothypotýposeon,’” and this is a clear reference to Clement’s *Hypotyposes* (ὑποτυπώσεις),¹⁶ there is nothing to prevent us from thinking that the source of Cassiodorus—if not one of the copyists *after* Cassiodorus—may *have believed* that these fragments were part of the *Hypotyposes*, without having clear proof that they were.¹⁷ Given the *status quaestionis*,¹⁸ the hypothesis that these texts were part of the *Hypotyposes* is still rather uncertain.¹⁹ As a matter of fact, there are certain difficulties in identifying the *Adumbrationes* as a part of the *Hypotyposes*.

First of all, Cassiodorus only chooses four sections of scriptural exegeses for the library and in his instruction of the monks of his *Vivarium*.²⁰ This has led to the supposition—which I believe to be correct—that he had ordered the translation of a manuscript that contained only the *Adumbrationes*. An alternate suggestion is that it was Cassiodorus himself who selected only these texts from the *Hypotyposes* (assuming that the *Adumbrationes* were a part of this work), but we have no proof that he possessed the *Hypotyposes* in their entirety.²¹ In fact Cassiodorus states: “They say (*ferunt*) that Clement of Alexandria explained the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament in the Greek language.”²² In this declaration that he has only indirect knowledge

16 See above, note 6 and Le Boulluec, “Extraits d’œuvres de Clément d’Alexandrie,” 120.

17 Relevant observations are made by Emanuele Castelli, “Sul titolo dei libri nell’antichità. Una nuova interpretazione del framm. 140 (ed. K.-A.) del Lino di Alessi,” *Segno e testo* 12 (2014) 1–18.

18 See Jana Plátová, “Bemerkungen zu den *Hypotyposen*-Fragmenten des Clemens Alexandrinus,” *SP* 46 (2010) 181–7, here 183–6.

19 Although Plátová considers that the Fr. 24 is authentic, she anyway doubts that it belongs to the seventh book of the *Hypotyposes* and she remains aware of Cassiodorus’ “corrections.” See Plátová, “Bemerkungen,” 184 and 186. In general nobody has still discussed Bunsen’s presupposition (see Christian K.J. Bunsen, *Hippolytus and His Age*, I, Longman–Brown–Green–Longmans: London, 1854, p. 360) that they were part of the VIII book of Clement’s *Hypotyposes*.

20 Cassiodorus, *Inst. div.* I 8, 1–4: “The eighth codex contains the canonical Epistles of the Apostles [...]. On the canonical letters, and specifically on the first of St. Peter, the first and second of St. John and the one of St. James, Clement of Alexandria, also known as *Stromatheus*, has illustrated a number of parts in Greek. Many observations are subtle; others instead are rather indiscreet. We have had them translated into Latin in order that his doctrine, cleansed and purified of errors, may be grasped with greater confidence.”

21 Jean Ruwet, “Clément d’Alexandrie. Canon des Écritures et Apocryphes,” *Bib* 29 (1948) 77–99, 240–68, 391–408; 98.

22 Cassiodorus, *Inst. div.* I 1, 4.

of the *Hypotyposes* (he tells the reader *ferunt*)—all the while possessing the *Adumbrationes*, which he had translated—there is an important clue which seems to imply the independence of the *Adumbrationes* from the *Hypotyposes*.

Another significant piece of information can be garnered from Eusebius' references to the *Hypotyposes*. While he claims that, "as for Clement, we preserve (παρ' ἡμῖν σῶζονται) all eight of the books of the *Stromateis*,"²³ it seems that he was not in possession of the *Hypotyposes*; in fact, he simply states that "the same number (meaning eight) of books make up the *Hypotyposes*."²⁴ In general, what Eusebius knew of the *Hypotyposes* seems to be limited to a few pieces of information.²⁵ In summarizing what Clement had stated in the *Hypotyposes* in the context of his own scriptural "canon,"²⁶ Eusebius only mentions three aspects of the *Hypotyposes*: He states that Clement also interpreted writings from the New Testament which were canonically controversial; he lays out Clement's position concerning Paul as the author of the Letter to the Hebrews; and he recalls Clement's various hypotheses on the origin of Acts, the Gospel of Mark and the Gospel of John. It is unclear as to why Eusebius would have kept silent on all information concerning Clement's exegesis on the Old Testament, if he truly had possessed the entire text of the *Hypotyposes*.

The point here is that Eusebius²⁷ attributes to the *Hypotyposes* exactly what is read in *Adumbr.* I 5, 13—the story of the origin of the Gospel of Mark. Although this constitutes significant evidence in favour of Clement's authorship of the *Adumbrationes*,²⁸ it does not solve all the problems related to the connection of the *Adumbrationes* with the *Hypotyposes* in light of how Eusebius describes the overall picture. In fact, even though Eusebius was certainly aware of a number of the sections of the *Hypotyposes* from which he cites small fragments, his account remains vague²⁹ and the fact that he probably did not possess all eight books of the *Hypotyposes* makes him somewhat unreliable. In particular, an account of the origin of the Gospel of Mark is also

23 Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* VI 13, 1.

24 Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* VI 13, 2. And also for Nautin, "La fine des Stromates," 299.

25 See Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* VI 13, 1: "In short, in the *Hypotyposes*, Clement has provided concise explanations on all of the testamentary Scripture without excluding the controversial writings, such as the Letter of Jude and other Catholic Letters."

26 See Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* VI 14.

27 See Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* VI 14, 6–7.

28 Which is the piece of information we get from John of Damascus *Sacra Parallela*, fr. 298 (in which we may read the greek text of *Adumbr.* III 2, 3). John of Damascus introduces the fragment with the word Κλήμεντος (that is "of Clement").

29 Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* VI 14, 5 only states "within the same books," which does not allow us to clearly recognize the work to which he refers.

found in *Hist. eccl.* II 15, 1–2: here, Eusebius attributes his information to the sixth book of the *Hypotyposes*. The important differences in this version from that of *Hist. eccl.* VI 14, 6–7³⁰ lead us to suppose that Clement gave two different accounts of the genesis of the Gospel of Mark (one in the *Hypotyposes* and one in the *Adumbrationes*), unless we imagine that Clement had contradicted himself within the *Hypotyposes*.³¹ This, however, is just as difficult an assumption, because this writing appears to be an “abridged” albeit linear and coherent explanation of biblical passages.³² The *Stromateis*, on the other hand, are explicitly described by Clement as problematic—we may also say even contradictory³³—or in any case difficult to understand and requiring the reader’s patience and cooperatio.³⁴ Therefore, given the exegetical content of

30 See my observations in Dainese, *Adombrazioni*, 160–63, note 45.

31 I would exclude that other explanations could be possible. E.g., we may think that in one instance Eusebius quotes Clement, in the other he gives just a description in his own words. Nonetheless, under its textual profile, there is no evidence in Eusebius that distinguishes his accounts on Clement in *Hist. eccl.* II and VI in such a manner. In this last case, he in fact uses the verb τίθημι (Κλήμης [...] τέθεται, *Hist. eccl.* VI 14, 5) and in the first its compound παρατίθημι (Κλήμης [...] παρατίθεται, *Hist. eccl.* II 15, 2). Again we see in VI 14, 5 the infinitive sentence introduced by the verb λέγω (προγεγράφθαι ἔλεγεν τῶν εὐαγγελίων τὰ περιέχοντα τὰς γενεαλογίας) is a clear indication of indirect speech; similarly (and I would say even more explicitly, given that the plural φασι suggests the idea of a greater distance between Eusebius and what he is quoting) we also find this in *Hist. eccl.* II 15, 2 (φασι τὸν ἀπόστολον [...], ἡσθῆναι).

32 Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* VI 14: “In the *Hypotyposes* he has given an abridged comment on all canonical Scripture [πάσης τῆς ἐνδιαθῆκου γραφῆς ἐπιτετμημένας πεποιήται διηγῆσεις].”

33 If we consider for example his account on martyrdom. See Dainese, “The Idea of Martyrdom.”

34 The “hypomnematic” nature of the *Stromateis*—see Luis Roberts, “The Literary Forms of the Stromateis,” *SecCent* 1 (1981) 211–22—which is partially explained by their technically esoteric function—see Giuseppe Lazzati, *Introduzione allo studio di Clemente Alessandrino* (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1939), 1–36—and in part by the dialectic between oral speech and written text of both Christian and pagan late-antiquity philosophy—see Marco Rizzi, “Tra oralità e scrittura. Forme di comunicazione nel cristianesimo del II secolo,” *Rivista di Storia del Cristianesimo* 3 (2006) 45–58—justifies their enigmatic style, which is apparently muddled, repetitive, and even contradictory. As to the *Stromateis*, indeed, he himself states that his “annotations” “will express something according to the lexical framework and something else according to allusions they make” (*Strom.* IV 2, 4, 1). The result is the muddled style with which Clement uses to formulate his doctrines: “For those inclined toward Gnosticism who happen to read them [my notes in this form], their study shall eventually be good and useful, though not without great effort” (*Strom.* VI 1, 2, 2), because “what is mystery, such as God, is entrusted to the spoken word, not to the written one.” (*Strom.* I 1, 13, 2). Also Eusebius seems to be aware of the complexity

the *Adumbrationes*, the correspondence between Eusebius' account of the origin of the Gospel of Mark and what can be found here does nothing to remove the suspicion that they could have been circulated as an independent *corpus* during the age of Eusebius, and that Eusebius himself could have given rise to the opinion that they were a part of the *Hypotyposes*.³⁵

As for the information given by Photios,³⁶ according to whom Clement had given an interpretation of the "Catholic" letters in the *Hypotyposes*, there is nothing to support the assumption that the *Adumbrationes*, constitute the section of the *Hypotyposes* dedicated to these books of the New Testament.

In order to understand if the exegeses of which Photios speaks were taken from the *Adumbrationes*, it is necessary to turn briefly to the objections that he makes against Clement's thought; for convenience's sake, I will cite the classification developed by Piotr Ashwin-Siejkowski,³⁷ subdivided into eight points:

1. the belief in the eternity of matter and ideas;
2. the creatural dimension attributed to the Son;
3. the transmigration of souls;
4. the creation of a multitude of worlds before Adam;
5. the conception of the creation of Eve by Adam;
6. the generation of beings conceived by angels and women;
7. the docetic Christology;
8. the doctrine of the two *Logoi* of the Father.³⁸

of the *Stromateis* (in *Hist. eccl.* VI 13, 4–8), of which he describes the variety of sources used by Clement. On the contrary, on the *Hypotyposes* he simply says that they were an "abridged accounts of all canonical Scripture." We may also imagine an alternative explanation concerning the nature of the *Hypotyposes*: they could be seen as a collection of biblical exegesis, which is functional to Clement's further investigations. But I will not touch upon this proposal here.

35 In such a case, I suppose that Eusebius is influenced by what Clement states in *Adumbr.* 111 1, 1, where he refers to the doctrine of a (or the) "presbyter." Eusebius might be identifying the presbyter with Pantaenus—as he states immediately thereafter in *Hist. eccl.* VI 14, quoting the words of Bishop Alexander of Jerusalem, who associates Clement with Pantaenus (VI 13, 2)—and perhaps he connects the doctrines of Pantaenus to the *Hypotyposes*, as he may have thought that the *Hypotyposes* was Clement's account of the doctrines of Pantaenus.

36 Photius, *Cod.* 109.

37 See Piotr Ashwin-Siejkowski, *Clement of Alexandria on Trial. The Evidence of "Heresy" from Photius' Bibliotheca* (VChr Suppl. 101; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 18.

38 On this doctrine, see Robert P. Casey, "Clement and the Two Divine *Logoi*," *JTS* 25 (1924) 43–56 and Adolf Knauber, "Die patrologische Schätzung des Clemens von Alexandrien bis zum seinem neuerlichen Bekanntwerden durch die ersten Druckeditionen des 16. Jahrhunderts," in P. Granfield and J.A. Jungmann (eds.), *Kyriakon. Festschrift Johannes*

None of these themes is clearly developed in the *Adumbrationes*. Its strongly exegetical structure is, nonetheless, disjointed and this makes it difficult to isolate univocal doctrinal formulations. It is likely that Photios did not have the *Adumbrationes* at his disposal, as by the 9th century we do not have any proof that this short work was obtainable in Greek, if indeed it was independent from the *Hypotyposes*.

Regardless of the answers to the legitimate doubts expressed above,³⁹ it is more likely that *Adumbrationes* came to Cassiodorus as only the 4 fragments he has translated, as Cassiodorus himself implicitly states: "On the canonical letters and specifically on the first of Saint Peter, on the first and the second of Saint John and Saint James,⁴⁰ the presbyter Clement of Alexandria, also called *Stromatheus*, has illustrated a number of parts"—from which we may gather that Cassiodorus possessed only fragments—"in Greek."⁴¹ Whatever the nature of these texts may have been, Cassiodorus wished to preserve, for the library of his *Vivarium*, only the *Adumbrationes* out of all of Clement's writings.⁴²

It seems significant that Cassiodorus, despite knowing of other works of Clement,⁴³ asked for the *Adumbrationes* (or maybe he found them) and arranged for the translation of these *as a whole*: this means that he considered them a unified and somehow complete "treatise" (or, better, "commentary"), a sort of short work alongside the other writings of Clement like the *Protrepticus* and the *Stromateis*, and this corroborates the impression that in the 6th century these were a *corpus* of texts that, at the time, circulated in the form known to Cassiodorus. Furthermore, I believe that if the collection of

Quaesten (Münster: Aschendorff, 1970), 299–302, 299–300. See also Christoph Marksches, "Die wunderliche Mär von zwei Logoi . . ." Clemens Alexandrinus, Fragment 23—Zeugnis eines *Arius ante Arium* oder arianischen Streits selbst?, in H.C. Brennecke, E.L. Grasmück, C. Marksches (eds.), *Logos: FS für Luise Abramowski* (BZNW 67; Berlin: De Gruyter 1993), 193–219.

39 Which is not properly the aim of this paper.

40 Nevertheless in the manuscripts containing the *Adumbrationes* we have Clement's comment to the Epistle of Jude, not James.

41 Cassiodorus, *Inst. div.* I 8, 4.

42 In this regard, we also must not assume the idea that Cassiodorus was unfamiliar of other works of Clement, although we can not be sure he possessed them. In fact, on two clear occasions in his *Institutions* he refers to Clement as *Stromatheus* (in I *pr.* 4 and I 8, 4), meaning the author of the *Stromateis*, and it is difficult to imagine that such a cultivated figure would be unaware of the etymology of Clement's byname. Moreover, and above all, Cassiodorus also demonstrated knowledge of other Clement's works, such as the *Protrepticus* that he explicitly mentions in *Inst. div.* II 5, 1.

43 Nevertheless, as I have stated in the previous note, it is possible that Cassiodorus *actually* had known the *Protrepticus*.

these fragments appeared in the eyes of an intellectual of the 6th century to be a reasonably coherent work, this makes the study and examination of their contents—and how those contents are laid out—of particular interest. Of course, the only legitimate conclusion on the relationship between *Adumbrationes* and *Hypotyposes* is that these Latin fragments may not have belonged to the *Hypotyposes*. Nevertheless, the point I would like here to make is different. That is, as a consequence of the condition in which the *Adumbrationes* have come down to us (that is, selected by or for a cultivated 6th-century man, translated and reelaborated by him—or by someone else for him) they can and perhaps should be considered and studied as a whole, regardless of whether they once belonged to a larger work with which they now seem to have lost any clear connection.

3 Clement's Exegesis of 1 John—*Adumbrationes* III

3.1 *Structure and Contents of Adumbrationes* III

Let us now turn to the primary concern of this paper (that is, the exegesis of 1 John as attested in the *Adumbrationes*—especially the content of *Adumbr.* III). In the following two case studies, I shall outline certain features and difficulties in Clement's text, though I cannot pretend to arrive at a definitive conclusion, which would require the creation of a complete edition and commentary.

Adumbr. III⁴⁴ is a comment on 1 John⁴⁵ to which Clement dedicated a large section (*Adumbr.* III 1, 1–2, 2) on God and his salvific power. It begins with the intra-divine Father–Son relationship, concerning which two pieces of information are cited from sources identified as “a/the presbyter” and “certain traditions,” meaning the *Acts of John* (III 1, 1). In this section there are two *excursus* on angelological themes: the first is a reflection on the power of Christ (III 1–2, 2); the second is a comparison of the one who is “Perfect,” chosen by virtue of faith, with the “apostate angels” and “the fallen” (III 2, 17).

Within this thematic framework Clement's explanation of a single passage (two verses, in this case) of 1 John can be found, which he also interpreted on other occasions. I refer to 1 John 1:6–7,⁴⁶ which is also cited in *Strom.* III 4, 32, 2:

44 For secondary literature on this text see Dainese, *Adombrazioni*, 127–39.

45 More precisely: 1 John 1:1–2; 1:5; 1:7; 1:10; 2:1–3; 2:5; 2:7–10; 2:12–17; 2:19–20; 2:22–23; 2:28–3:2; 3:8–3:10; 3:12; 3:15–16; 3:20–21; 3:24; 4:18; 5:6–8; 5:14; 5:19–20.

46 I quote the Greek text of 1 John 1:7 (NA²⁸), which occurs also in *Adumbr.* III: καὶ τὸ αἷμα Ἰησοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ καθαρίζει ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης ἁμαρτίας, and in the Latin translation quoted in *Adumbr.* III: Et sanguis Filii eius mundat vos.

"And how can they say that they only know God if they do the same things as [...] the iniquitous and incontinent and arrogant and adulterous? [...] And John says in his Epistle: *If we say that we are in communion with him*, that is with God, *and walk in darkness, we lie and do not the truth; but if we walk in the light as he is in the light, we are in communion with him, and the blood of Jesus his Son cleanses us from sin.*"⁴⁷ In *Stromateis* III, however, this passage has an entirely different context: polemics against certain unidentified gnostics, who are described as "iniquitous," "incontinent," "arrogant" and "adulterous."⁴⁸ These are men whom Clement, paraphrasing 1 John 1:6, says *walk in darkness*, are false (*we lie*), not servants of the truth (*we do not the truth*), and live in opposition to those who walk solemnly in the light and are in communion with God (*if we walk in the light [...] we are in communion with him*), and according to 1 John 1:7 are purified in the *blood of Jesus his Son*.⁴⁹

From *Adumbr.* III 2, 3 to the end of III, the discussion focuses on *gnosis*, which involves faith and love of others (III 2, 3–5 and III 2, 8–10) and leads to an indwelling in God (III 2, 5), in the God of Deut 6:4 to be precise (III 2, 3). Here Clement describes *gnosis* as a progression of the soul (III 2, 12–14 and 3, 2–12) which can be fulfilled during this life, resulting in the "acquisition of *intelligence*,"⁵⁰ which for Clement is the Holy Spirit (III 5, 20), and which—similar to Clement's statement in *Strom.* VI 16, 134⁵¹—"comes to us through faith." He wonders why the progress of the soul involves distancing itself from the malignancy of the world, even though the world—according to Gen 1:31—is deemed very good (*Adumbr.* III 2, 14); then he describes the figure of the one who has achieved a state of perfection in contrast to those who, as noted in 1 John 3:8, *come from the devil*.⁵²

47 *Strom.* III 4, 31, 5–32, 2.

48 *Strom.* III 4, 31, 5.

49 1 John 1:7 in *Strom.* III 4, 32, 2.

50 Lat. *intellectus*. Perhaps the Greek read *gnosis* (although the text in 1 John has δῖανοια), but I translate "intelligence" since Clement refers to the Holy Spirit and he may be associating πνεῦμα (spirit) and νοῦς/δῖανοια (intelligence, mind).

51 On the interpretation of this important passage, see Laura Rizzerio, "Note di antropologia in Clemente di Alessandria. Il problema della divisione dell'anima e dell'animazione dell'uomo," *Sandalion* 10–11 (1987–1988) 115–43 and D. Dainese, *Passibilità divina. La dottrina dell'anima in Clemente Alessandrino* (Rome: Città Nuova, 2012), 53–113.

52 On the theme of evil in Clement one may refer to P. Karavites, *Evil, Freedom, and the Road to Perfection in Clement of Alexandria* (VChr Suppl. 43; Leiden: Brill, 1999), and take into account Rizzi's remarks in *Adamantius* 7 (2001) 351–4.

In this section we find at least four, though probably five⁵³ other passages from the First Epistle of John that Clement treats elsewhere: 1 John 2:2–5⁵⁴ on which Clement focused particular attention in *Paed.* III 12, 98 where Jesus is spoken of as the head of the Church inasmuch as he is *propitiation for our sins* and for the sins *of all the world*; 1 John 2:19⁵⁵ that is also found in *Strom.* III 6, 45, 2, in reference to those who practice continence that is considered excessive; 1 John 3:2,⁵⁶ likely also alluded to in *Paed.* III 1, 1 in which Clement speaks of assimilation to God; 1 John 3:15⁵⁷ also found in *Quis div.* 37, 6 within a discussion of God as Love.

The division of *Adumbr.* III into two such parts is suggested by its use of different biblical quotations. The first is the exegesis of 1 John 1–2:2; of the two parts this is the briefest, but it contains the most direct and indirect references to various scriptural passages from the Old and New Testaments (2 Kgs 7:1, Wis 7:26, Isa 33:6–7, Ezek 1 and 10, Dan 8:15–18 and 10:16–21, Zech 1:8–15, John 1:1, and 1:3–4, Phil 2:10, 1 Tim 6:16 and Heb 1:3). The second part of *Adumbr.* III is longer; it roughly spans from 1 John 2:3 to 1 John 5:20 and only two biblical references from other scriptural books appear: Gen 1:31 and Deut 6:4.

Besides the passages of 1 John upon which Clement comments here, there are a number of other short verses from this epistle that are not cited in the *Adumbrationes* but occupy his attention in other writings.⁵⁸ What distinguishes

53 This is the main argument of the last paragraph of this paper.

54 1 John 2:2–2:5 (NA²⁸): καὶ αὐτὸς ἱλασμός ἐστιν περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, οὐ περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων δὲ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ γινώσκουμεν ὅτι ἐγνώκαμεν αὐτόν, ἐὰν τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ τηρῶμεν. ὁ λέγων ὅτι ἐγνώκα αὐτόν καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ μὴ τηρῶν ψεύστης ἐστίν, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἡ ἀλήθεια οὐκ ἔστιν· ὅς δ' ἂν τηρῇ αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον, ἀληθῶς ἐν τούτῳ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ τετελείεται. ἐν τούτῳ γινώσκουμεν ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐσμεν.

55 1 John 2:19 (NA²⁸): ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐξήλθαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦσαν ἐξ ἡμῶν, εἰ γὰρ ἐξ ἡμῶν ἦσαν, μεμενήκεισαν ἂν μεθ' ἡμῶν—ἀλλ' ἵνα φανερωθῶσιν ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶν πάντες ἐξ ἡμῶν.

56 1 John 3:2 (NA²⁸): ἀγαπητοί, νῦν τέκνα θεοῦ ἐσμεν, καὶ οὕτω ἐφανερώθη τί ἐσόμεθα. οἶδαμεν ὅτι ἐὰν φανερωθῇ ὅμοιοι αὐτῷ ἐσόμεθα, ὅτι ὁψόμεθα αὐτόν καθὼς ἐστιν.

57 1 John 3:15 (NA²⁸): πᾶς ὁ μισῶν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἀνθρωποκτόνος ἐστίν, καὶ οἶδατε ὅτι πᾶς ἀνθρωποκτόνος οὐκ ἔχει ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἐν αὐτῷ μένουσαν.

58 Only some of which have been examined by Mees, *Die Zitate*, 180–2: 1 John 3:14 and 3:18–19 (as well as 5:16–17 which we shall see play an entirely particular role however). Besides those collected by Mees, one should consider also: 1 John 2:4 (quoted in *Strom.* III 5, 44, 5); 1 John 3:3 (quoted in *Strom.* III 5, 42, 6); 1 John 4:8.16 (this is probably the most significant absence, appears in *Paed.* III 11, 82, 1, *Strom.* IV 16, 100, 5, *Strom.* IV 18, 113, 3–4, *Strom.* V 2, 13, 2, *Quis div.* 37, 1) for which see Dainese, *Adombrazioni*, 99–115; 1 John 4:17 (quoted in *Strom.* VII 7, 46, 3–4); 1 John 4:19 (quoted in *Quis div.* 27, 5); 1 John 5:3 (quoted in *Paed.* III 11, 82, 1). We shall see that there is a particular position found in

the pericopes of 1 John considered in the *Adumbrationes*, in any case, is that only here do they appear within a systematic and coherent argument that is composed of biblical allusions—"adumbrations" as it were.⁵⁹

4 Two Case Studies: 1 John 2:7 and 1 John 5:16–17

After this general discussion of Clement's exegesis of 1 John within the *Adumbrationes* (that is, the contents of *Adumbr.* III) I turn now to the two case-studies: Clement's comments on 1 John 2:7 and 5:16–17. More than any other, these sections illuminate important features of the relationship between *Adumbrationes* and *Stromateis*.⁶⁰ More specifically, these passages help clarify the meaning of certain promises that Clement makes in *Stromateis* to write a treatise which he seems to call *De principiis*⁶¹ as well as the relationship between intellectual speculation and biblical exegesis in Clement's literary production.

1 John 5:16–17. For passages that appear to be "omitted" in the *Adumbrationes* see Dainese, *Adombrazioni*, 100–8.

59 Something similar might also apply to the citations of 1 John in *Strom.* III, though there they appear in an aside, in the context of Clement's anti-gnostic argument (that is, his classification of the gnostic adversaries as either "encratites" or "libertines").

60 In order to give the reader an idea of what Clement says in the *Adumbrationes* on these passages from 1 John, I will quote here Clement's texts (and, in italics, the relevant verses from 1 John)—although they will be quoted again also in later paragraphs of this paper. *Adumbr.* III 2, 7: "I do not write you a new commandment, but an old commandment, which you have had from the beginning, that is through the Law and the Prophets, where it is said *God is one* (Deut 6:4). And again, to conclude: because *the old commandment is the word that you heard*." As I will explain in more detail later, in the *Adumbrationes* there is actually no direct quotation of 1 John 5:16–17, but it is implied in the text of *Adumbr.* III 5, 8–5, 20: "8. *The spirit*, as it is life, / *the water*, as it is regeneration and faith, / and *the blood*, as it is knowledge, / and *these three are one alone*. In the Savior these are truly healing powers, and life itself exists within his own Son. / 14. *And this is the confidence that we have toward him, that if we ask anything according to his will he hears us*. He did not say "all we ask," but *what is appropriate to ask*. / 5, 19. *And the whole world is in the power of the evil one*—not as a creature itself, but as a set men living according to their desires, in the *saeculum*. / 20. *And the Son of God has come and has given us intelligence*, that is: he who is also called Holy Spirit comes to us according to faith."

61 Of course Περὶ ἀρχῶν in Greek, but in this paper I will mention it by means of the Latin translation by mere convention, to be consistent with the general abbreviations used by the G.I.R.O.T.A. (*Gruppo Italiano di Ricerca su Origene e la Tradizione Alessandrina*) for Origen.

4.1 *Passages of the Stromateis in which Clement Seems to Announce his De principiis*

There are seven occasions in the *Stromateis*⁶² where Clement, directly or indirectly, touches on the questions that he intended to examine in greater detail in a future treatise/analysis on First Principles.⁶³ In order to simplify reference to these texts, I shall refer to them by the following letters:

1. text (A) [*Strom.* II 8, 37, 1]:

But there being but one First Principle, as will be shown afterwards, these men will be shown to be inventors of chatterings and chirpings.⁶⁴

2. text (B) [*Strom.* III 3, 13, 1]:

But we shall thoroughly discuss with those people [= the Marcionites] when we will discuss the doctrine of First Principles.⁶⁵ The philosophers whom we have mentioned, from whom the Marcionites blasphemously derived their doctrine that birth is evil, on which they then plumed themselves as if it were their own idea, do not hold that it is evil by nature, but only for the soul which has perceived the truth.⁶⁶

3. text (C) [*Strom.* III 3, 21, 2]:

When we will discuss First Principles⁶⁷ we will consider the difference between the views of the philosophers and those of the Marcionites.

62 One should not forget also *Quis div.* 26, 8, which is less relevant for my argument: σημαινέτω μὲν οὖν τι καὶ ὑψηλότερον ἢ κάμηλος διὰ στενῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τεθλιμμένης φθάνουσα τὸν πλοῦσιον, ὅπερ ἐν τῇ περὶ ἀρχῶν καὶ θεολογίας ἐξηγήσει μυστήριον τοῦ σωτήρος ὑπάρχει μαθεῖν.

63 I use the expression "First Principles/First Principle," which could refer also to a conventional *topos* in Ancient Philosophy, to translate the Greek ἀρχαί/ἀρχή. On the other hand the single word "principles/principle" will correspond to more general terms like δόγματα/δόγμα. Nevertheless Clement may sometimes use δόγμα/δόγματα as synonymous with ἀρχαί/ἀρχή (see below, note 86). Thus I will use expressions like "*topic of the First Principles*" (in italics but without quotation mark) to indicate that although Clement is not using the Greek ἀρχαί the Latin expression should probably be translated as "First Principles."

64 Μιᾶς δ' οὐσης ἀρχῆς, ὡς δειχθήσεται ὕστερον, τερετίσματα καὶ μινυρίσματα ἀναπλάσσοντες οἷδε οἱ ἄνδρες φανήσονται.

65 'Ὅποταν [...] τὸν περὶ ἀρχῶν διαλαμβάνωμεν λόγον. The verb διαλαμβάνωμεν is present subjunctive but I have it translated as future indicative, since ὅποταν requires the subjunctive.

66 Ἀλλὰ πρὸς μὲν τούτους, ὅποταν τὸν περὶ ἀρχῶν διαλαμβάνωμεν λόγον, ἀκριβέστατα διαλεξόμεθα· οἱ φιλόσοφοι δὲ ὧν ἐμνήσθημεν, παρ' ὧν τὴν γένεσιν κακὴν εἶναι ἀσεβῶς ἐκμαθόντες οἱ ἀπὸ Μαρκίωνος καθάπερ ἰδίῳ δόγματι φρυάττονται, οὐ φύσει κακὴν βούλονται ταύτην εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τῇ ψυχῇ τῇ τὸ ἀληθὲς διδούσῃ.

67 Ἐπειδὴν δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν διαλαμβάνωμεν, see above note 63.

But I think I have shown clearly enough that Marcion took from Plato the starting-point of his strange doctrines, without either grateful acknowledgment or understanding.⁶⁸

4. text (D) [*Strom.* IV 13, 91, 1]:

When, then, we treat of the unity of the God who is proclaimed in the law, the prophets, and the Gospel, we shall also discuss this [= the addition of the different spirit]; for this topic concerns the First Principles.⁶⁹

5. text (E) [*Strom.* V 14, 140, 3]:

But this speculation, we shall, nevertheless, again touch on, as necessity requires, when we collect the opinions current among the Greeks respecting First Principles.⁷⁰

6. text (F) [*Strom.* VI 2, 4, 2]:

For since we have shown that the symbolical style was ancient, and was employed not only by our prophets, but also by the majority of the ancient Greeks, and by not a few of the rest of the gentile barbarians, it was requisite to proceed to the mysteries of the initiated. I postpone the elucidation of these till we advance to the refutation of what is said by the Greeks on First Principles.⁷¹

7. text (G) [*Strom.* IV 1, 2, 2]:

In addition to these points, afterwards on completing the sketch, as far as we can in accordance with what we propose, we must give an account of the physical doctrines of the Greeks and of the barbarians,

68 'Επειδὴν δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν διαλαμβάνωμεν, τότε καὶ τὰς ἐναντιότητας ταύτας ἃς οἱ τε φιλόσοφοι αἰνίσσονται οἱ τε περὶ Μαρκιῶνα δογματίζουσιν, ἐπισκεψόμεθα· πλὴν οὐκ ἀσαφῶς δεδειχθαι ἡμῖν νομίζω τὰς ἀφορμὰς τῶν ξένων δογμάτων τὸν Μαρκιῶνα παρὰ Πλάτωνος ἀχαρίστως τε καὶ ἀμαθῶς εἰληφέναι.

69 "Ὅταν μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ ἑνᾶ εἶναι τὸν θεὸν τὸν διὰ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν καὶ εὐαγγελίου κηρυσσόμενον διαλαμβάνωμεν, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο διαλεξόμεθα· ἀρχικὸς γὰρ ὁ λόγος. One may also translate the last sentence as follows: "For the topic is supreme."

70 Ἡς θεωρίας οὐδὲν ἦττον αὐτὶς ἐφαψόμεθα κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον, ὅπηνίκα ἂν τὰς περὶ ἀρχῶν δόξας τὰς παρ' Ἑλλήσι φερομένας ἀναλεγγόμεθα.

71 Ἐπεὶ γὰρ παρεστήσαμεν τὸ συμβολικὸν εἶδος ἀρχαῖον εἶναι, κεχρησθαι δὲ αὐτῷ οὐ μόνον τοὺς προφῆτας τοὺς παρ' ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν παλαιῶν τοὺς πλείονας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ τὰ ἔθνη βαρβάρων οὐκ ὀλίγους, ἐχρῆν δὲ καὶ τὰ μυστήρια ἐπελθεῖν τῶν τελομένων· ταῦτα μὲν ὑπερτίθεμαι διασαφήσω, ὅπηνίκα ἂν τὰ περὶ ἀρχῶν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν εἰρημένα ἐπιόντες διελέγχωμεν.

respecting First Principles, as far as their opinions have reached us, and argue against the principal views proposed by the philosophers.

It will naturally fall after these, after a cursory view of theology, to discuss the opinions handed down respecting prophecy; so that, having demonstrated that the Scriptures which we believe are guaranteed by the authority of the Almighty, we shall be able to go over them in order, and to show against all heresy that the Lord is one God Almighty who has been truly proclaimed by the Law, by the Prophets as well as by the blessed Gospel.⁷²

In addition to the instance of text (F) [*Strom.* vi 2, 4, 2], which promises further analysis of the subject of the mysteries in a “refutation of what is said by the Greeks on First Principles,” all of the questions that are raised here recur in at least one of the four *Adumbrationes*—namely in the third involving the exegesis of 1 John.

4.2 *Only One Principle: Analysis of Texts A, D and G*

In text (A) [*Strom.* ii 8, 37, 1], Clement states: “But there being but one First Cause, as will be shown afterwards, these men [that is, Valentinian gnostics] will be shown to be inventors of chatterings and chirpings.” It is impossible to say with certainty whether Clement promises a future work called *Περὶ ἀρχῶν*, insofar as there are a number of places where he deals with the unity (that is, uniqueness and indivisibility) of God—the First Principle. It is, however, important to note that Clement does promise here to treat the unity of the First Principle on a future occasion.

In general, his conception of the unity of the First Principle is formulated in three steps (and stated in three passages:

- text (α)—the assignment of the concept of unity of the “true and real first cause” to Plato (Plato, *Tim.* 48c) against the Stoics (*Strom.* v 14, 89, 7);⁷³

72 Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὕστερον πληρωθείσης ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα τῆς κατὰ τὰ προκείμενα ἡμῖν ὑποτυπώσεως τὰ περὶ ἀρχῶν φυσιολογηθέντα τοῖς τε Ἑλλήσι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις βαρβάροις, ὅσων ἦκον εἰς ἡμᾶς αἰδοῖσθαι, ἐξιστορητέον καὶ πρὸς τὰ κυριώτατα τῶν τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἐπινενοημένων ἐγχειρητέον. οἷς ἐπόμενον ἂν εἴη μετὰ τὴν ἐπιδρομὴν τῆς θεολογίας τὰ περὶ προφητείας παραδεδομένα διαλαβεῖν, ὡς καὶ τὰς γραφὰς αἷς πεπιστεύκαμεν κυρίας οὐσας ἐξ αὐθεντείας παντοκρατορικῆς ἐπιδείξαντας προΐεναι δι' αὐτῶν εἰρμῷ δύνασθαι <καὶ> ἀπάσαις ἐντεῦθεν ταῖς αἰρέσεσιν ἕνα δεικνύναι θεὸν καὶ κύριον παντοκράτορα τὸν διὰ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοῦ μακαρίου εὐαγγελίου γνησίως κεκηρυγμένον.

73 *Strom.* v 14, 89, 7 (text [α]): “And does he not say very mystically, knowing that the true and real first cause is one, in these very words: ‘Now, then, let our opinion be so. As to the

- *text* (β)—the confirmation of the so-called *Shemà Israel* of Deut 6:4 (*Hear Oh Israel: The Lord thy God is one*) through:
 - *text* (β_1)—here Clement quotes Deut 6:4—the presumed approval by Plato (Plato, *Crat.* 396b or *Phaedr.* 278d) of Heraclitus' *Fr.* 22B, 32–33 DK ("Law is to obey the will of one") and of Timaeus of Locri⁷⁴ in *Strom.* v 14, 115;⁷⁵
 - *text* (β_2)—the reference 1) to a Pythagorean Περὶ φύσεως, 2) to a fragment of Orpheus and 3) to Diphilus in *Strom.* v 14, 133, 1–3.⁷⁶

Now, although in text (A) [*Strom.* II 8, 37, 1] Clement does not specifically state his wish to write a *De principiis*, in the promise in text (G) [*Strom.* IV 1, 2, 1], he seems more explicit in regard to a *De principiis*, as he refers to a survey of the "physical doctrines of the Greeks and of the barbarians, respecting First Principles" as preliminary to the "analysis of the prophetic tradition."⁷⁷ He intends to demonstrate that the Scriptures "are guaranteed by the authority of the Almighty" and to prove "against all heresy that the Lord is one God Almighty who has been authentically predicated by the Law, by the Prophets as well as by the blessed Gospel."⁷⁸ This might explain why Clement believed that, in order to speak of the unity of the First Principle, it was important to

First Principle or Principles of the universe, or what opinion we ought to entertain about all these points, we are not now to speak, for no other cause than on account of its being difficult to explain our sentiments in accordance with the present form of discourse."

74 Plato, *Phaedr.* 245cd.

75 *Strom.* v 14, 115 (text [β_1]): "I am aware that Plato assents to Heraclitus, who writes: 'The one thing that is wise alone will not be expressed, and means the name of Zeus.' And again, 'Law is to obey the will of one.' And if you wish to adduce that saying, 'He that hath ears to hear, let him hear,' you will find it expressed by the Ephesian to the following effect: 'Those that hear without understanding are like the deaf. The proverb witnesses against them, that when present they are absent.' But do you want to hear from the Greeks expressly of one First Principle? Timaeus the Locrian, in the work *On Nature*, shall testify in the following words: 'There is one First Principle of all things unoriginated. For were it originated, it would be no longer the First Principle; but the First Principle would be that from which it originated.' For this true opinion was derived from what follows: *Hear, it is said, Oh Israel; the Lord thy God is one, and Him only shalt thou serve.*" (Deut 6:4).

76 *Strom.* v 14, 133, 1–3 (text [β_1]): "Thearidas, in his book *On Nature*, writes: 'There was then one really true beginning [First Principle] of all that exists—one! For that being in the beginning is one and alone.' 'Nor is there any other except the Great King,' says Orpheus, in accordance with whom, the comic poet Diphilus says very sententiously, the, 'Father of all, to Him alone incessant reverence pay, the inventor and the author of such blessings.'"

77 *Strom.* IV 1, 2, 2.

78 *Ibid.*

connect *Deut* 6:4 to a series of motifs from Greek philosophers and poets (texts α, β₁ and β₂). Therefore, this text, together with the implicit allusion to a further exploration of the First Principles found in text (A), shows that Clement planned a more extended discussion (but not necessarily another work) centred upon the First Principles.⁷⁹

Moreover, the preeminent importance of the unity of God—creator, God of the Righteous, of the Patriarchs, of Moses, of the Law and Prophets, Father of Christ, God of the Apostles and the Gospels—which Clement states immediately following text (A) (more precisely in *Strom.* II 8, 37, 2), is one of the cornerstones of the Origenian *De principiis* (*praef.* 4). It is also referenced by another and more explicit promise of a likely *De principiis* in text (D) [*Strom.* IV 13, 91, 1]: “When, then, we treat of the unity of the God who is proclaimed in the law, the prophets, and the Gospel, we shall also discuss this [= the addition of the ‘different spirit,’ δεύτερον πνεῦμα]; for this topic relates to the First Principles.” Furthermore, the context of this latter promise, which we will return to shortly, is anti-Valentinian. Clement argues against Valentinians for the unity of the one they call the “demiurge” with the transcendent God.

Moreover, this links the promise of text (D) to the one in text (G), in which Clement intends to move “against all heresy.” Here, in text (D)—as well as in text (G) and even more so than in text (A)—the theme of the unity of the First Principle is dealt with in terms of the unity between the God of the Law and Prophets and the God of the Gospels. This is exactly how Origen approached the problem of the unity of God in *praef.* 4 of his *De principiis*, consistent with Clement’s anti-Marcionite polemic, which refuted the distinction of the gods of the Old Testament and New Testament. This polemic recurs in regard to two further and explicit promises of a treatise on “principles” in text (B) [*Strom.* III 3, 13, 1] and text (C) [*Strom.* III 3, 21, 2], respectively.

4.3 *Against Marcion: Analysis of Texts B, C and E*

In text (B) [*Strom.* III 3, 13, 1], Clement again promises: “We shall thoroughly discuss with them [= those who ‘should be grateful, to God for the world for the

79 Like chapters of other Clement’s works. E.g., *Paed.* I 6: whose title is Πρὸς τοὺς ὑπολαμβάνοντας τὴν τῶν παιδίων καὶ νηπίων προσηγορίαν τὴν τῶν πρώτων μαθημάτων αἰνίττεσθαι διδασχὴν; in this case, although Clement speaks of πρώτα μαθήματα—and in any case not of ἀρχαί—one should consider that subtitles in Late Antique writings were not written by their authors, even though they were sort of reliable summaries of the parts they referred to. On the problem of *κεφάλαια* in Late Antiquity see Emanuele Castelli, “Saggio introduttivo. *L’Elenchos*, ovvero una ‘biblioteca’ contro le eresie,” in A. Magris (ed.), *Ippolito. Confutazione di tutte le eresie, traduzione italiana con commento* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2012), 21–56.

sole reason that it is here that we receive the Gospel,' meaning the Marcionites] when we discuss the doctrine of First Principles."⁸⁰ Soon afterwards, in text (C) [*Strom.* III 3, 21, 2], in the same vein, he says: "When we discuss First Principles we will consider the difference between the views of the philosophers and those of the Marcionites." Clement here opposes the opinion that birth—and, therefore, all the works/actions of the God of the Old Testament—is evil. These other two hints of a future treatise or examination of the First Principles concern the goodness of the world.

In text (E) [*Strom.* v 14, 140, 3], Clement specifically repeats his promise to return to the relationship between heaven and earth: "But this speculation, we shall, nevertheless, again touch on, as necessity requires, when we collect the opinions current among the Greeks respecting first principles," knowing full well that the Greeks (in his opinion) had stolen their doctrines from barbarians.⁸¹ Here it is true that Clement does not speak of the goodness of birth and the world. It would be baseless, however, to claim that, upon further examination of the topic, his conclusions would be different from those expressed against the Marcionites concerning the goodness of birth announced in the promises of text (B) [*Strom.* III 3, 13, 1], text (C) [*Strom.* III 3, 21, 2] and text (D) [*Strom.* IV 13, 91, 1]. In essence, we can state that almost all of the promises of a future treatise/examination of the First Principles occur in an anti-Marcionite context, in which Clement planned to argue for the goodness of the world and creation in virtue of the unity of the First Principle, from which the unity of the Testaments derives.

4.4 *The Role of Adumbr. III 2, 7 in Relation to a Future Treatise*

De principiis

We have seen that unity of God and unity of the First Principle also happen to be cornerstones of Origen's *De principiis*. Now, if we analyze the nine points that Origen promises to deal with in his preface to *De principiis*, we find that at least six of them are also discussed in *Adumbr.* III. In addition to the unique nature of God-the First Principle (III 2, 14; in Origen: *Princ.* I *prae*f., 4), we find

80 *Strom.* III 3, 13, 1.

81 See slightly above *Strom.* v 14, 140, 2. On this theme, see Salvatore R.C. Lilla, *Clement of Alexandria. A Study in Christian Platonism and Gnosticism* (Oxford: OUP, 1971), 11–41 and Jean Daniélou, *Messsage évangélique et culture hellénistique aux II^e et III^e siècles* (Tournai: Desclée & Cie, 1961), 50. For a more recent view, see Gabriella Aragione, "L'amor proprio dei Greci e la ricerca del vero maestro (Clemente d'Alessandria, *Stromati* VI, 2, 5–27)," in E. Junod, A. Frey, and R. Gounelle (eds.), *Poussières de christianisme et de judaïsme antiques. Études réunies en l'honneur de Jean-Daniel Kaestli et Éric Junod* (Lausanne: Zebre, 2007), 53–6.

the soul (the subject of all of the second part of *Adumbr.* III; in Origen: *Princ.* I *praef.*, 5), the devil (*Adumbr.* III 3, 2–3, 12; in Origen: *Princ.* I *praef.*, 6), the world (*Adumbr.* III 2, 14.16; in Origen: *Princ.* I *praef.*, 4), the Holy Spirit (*Adumbr.* III 3, 24; III 5, 6–20; in Origen: *Princ.* I *praef.*, 3), and rational beings (*Adumbr.* III 2, 1–2, 2 and III 2, 17; in Origen: *Princ.* I *praef.*, 10).

Of all of these themes I would like to focus on the unity of God—the First Principle. Clement deals with this in the *Adumbrationes*, in his exegesis of 1 John 2:7 and 1 John 2:14. They are quoted below:

Adumbr. III 2, 7: *Non mandatum novum scribo vobis, sed mandatum vetus, quod habuistis a principio, per legem scilicet et prophetas, ubi dicitur: Unus est Deus. Idcirco etiam inferet, quoniam mandatum vetus est verbum quod audistis.*

I do not write you a new commandment, but an old commandment, which you have had from the beginning (1 John 2:7), that is through the Law and the Prophets, where it is said “God is one” (Deut 6:4). And again, to conclude: because *the old commandment is the word that you heard.*

Adumbr. III 2, 14: *Fortes iuvenes contemnentes voluptates, malignum diaboli extollentiam significat. Filii autem cognoscunt patrem, utpote qui ab idolis confugerunt et ad unum Deum convocati sunt*

Strong youth, who spurn the pleasures, *the evil*—that is, those who cast off the devil. “Children,” nonetheless, “know their father,” inasmuch as they fled from idols and were gathered by the one and only God.⁸²

For our purposes, it is useful to focus on the first of these two texts, where, in order to explain 1 John 2:7, Clement turns to Deut 6:4 exactly as he had in the *Stromateis* (text [β1]). Among the passages of the *Stromateis* in which Clement promises further study—or even a separate treatise—on the First Principles, I would like to consider the case of *Strom.* IV 13, 91, 1 (text [D]). The way Clement speaks of the unity of God in *Strom.* IV 13, 91, 1 is very close to *Adumbr.* III 2, 7, where he links Deut 6:4 and 1 John 2:7. Therefore, we find that the goal Clement promised in *Strom.* IV 13, 91, 1 is achieved in *Adumbr.* III 2, 7. Let us compare the two texts:

82 See 1 John 5:21.19.

Text D) [*Strom.* IV 13, 91, 1]*Adumbr.* III 2, 7

When, then, we treat the unity of God who is proclaimed by the Law, the Prophets and the Gospels, we shall also discuss this concept [= the addition of the "different Spirit"]—for this topic relates to the First Principles.

I do not write you a new commandment, but an old commandment, which you have had from the beginning, that is through the Law and the Prophets, where it is said God is one. And again, to conclude: because the old commandment is the word that you heard.

Two elements of *Strom.* IV 13, 91, 1 are also found in *Adumbr.* III 2, 7: the unity of God (which features in *Adumbr.* III 2, 7 as a quotation from Deut 6:4) and the close link between the Law and Prophets ("old commandment" of 1 John) on the one hand and the "new commandment" on the other—that is, we can call it the New Testament because the "old commandment" means the "Law and Prophets." Only the decisive element of pneumatology is missing, the addition of the "different Spirit." Actually, the part of *Adumbr.* III in which the text of *Adumbr.* III 2, 7 is contained culminates not only in a pneumatological reflection but in the theme of the insertion of the Spirit—not "different," but "holy"—which is one of the key themes in Clement's thinking on the doctrine of the soul in *Strom.* VI 16, 134–136.⁸³ In fact, soon after, Clement

83 See *Strom.* VI 16, 134, 2; 135, 1–4; 136, 4: "And there is a ten in man himself: the five senses, and the power of speech, and that of reproduction; and the eighth is the spiritual principle communicated at his creation; and the ninth the ruling faculty of the soul; and tenth, there is the distinctive characteristic of the Holy Spirit, which comes to him through faith. [...] And the soul is introduced, and previous to it the ruling faculty, by which we reason, not produced in procreation [...], faculties by which all the activity of man is carried out. For in order, straight away on man's entering existence, his life begins with sensations. We accordingly assert that rational and ruling power is the cause of the constitution of the living creature; also that this, the irrational part, is animated, and is a part of it. Now the vital force, in which is comprehended the power of nutrition and growth, and generally of motion, is assigned to the carnal spirit, which has great susceptibility of motion, and passes in all directions through the senses and the rest of the body, and through the body is the primary subject of sensations. But the power of choice, in which investigation, and study, and knowledge, reside, belongs to the ruling faculty. But all the faculties are placed in relation to one—the ruling faculty: it is through that man lives, and lives in a certain way. [...] the two tables are also said to mean the commandments that were given to the

states: “*And this is how we know that he lives in us: We know it by the Spirit he gave us* (1 John 3:24);” “*For there are three that testify: the Spirit* (1 John 5:7)” is the first. As Clement brings his text to a close, these two texts (1 John 3:24 and 1 John 5:7) suggest that, in regard to 1 John 5:20 (*the Son of God has come and has given us understanding*), “understanding—which is also called the Holy Spirit—comes to us through faith.”

4.5 The “strange case” of 1 John 5:16–17

Clement discusses 1 John 5:16–17⁸⁴ in *Strom.* II 15, 66, 5.⁸⁵ The relevance of these verses from 1 John for the *Adumbrationes* is not immediately obvious, for in the extant *Adumbrationes* Clement does not quote and discuss them. Nonetheless, the general structure of his third *Adumbratio* seems to assume a certain logical consistency in the argument of 1 John, and the section in which 1 John 5:16–17 would naturally appear (*Adumbr.* III 5, 8–5, 20) exhibits a number of interesting affinities with his discussion of these verses in the *Stromateis*.

The section of *Stromateis* (that is, *Strom.* II 15, 66, 5) in which Clement uses 1 John 5:16–17 does not seem to be linked to the above-mentioned “promises,” but—as I will show—it is somehow connected to the research on the *topic of the First Principles* (although only *lato sensu*, I would say). Clement connects the distinction between the sins mentioned in John’s epistle with a hint at “the wicked,” “the sinners,” and “the arrogant” that can be found in Psalm 11:1; in this regard, he defines the Psalm’s three types of sin—wickedness, sinfulness “in the strict sense,” arrogance—“three principles,” stating both explicitly and enigmatically: “But even David and Moses before him exhibited awareness of the three principles (δόγματα).”⁸⁶

twofold spirits—those communicated before the law to that which was created, and to the ruling faculty; [...] apprehension results from both combined.”

84 1 John 5:16–17: *If you see your brother or sister committing what is not a mortal sin, you will ask, and God will give life to such a one—to those whose sin is not mortal. There is a sin that is mortal; I do not say that you should pray about that. All wrongdoing is sin, but there is a sin that is not mortal.*

85 *Strom.* II 15, 66, 5: “You see the one God declared good, rendering according to desert, and forgiving sins. John, too, manifestly teaches the differences of sins, in his larger Epistle, in these words: *If any man see his brother sin a sin that is not unto death, he shall ask, and he shall give him life: for these that sin not unto death*, he says. *For there is a sin unto death: I do not say that one is to pray for it. All unrighteousness is sin; and there is a sin not unto death.*”

86 *Strom.* II 15, 67, 1. I have chosen to make the noun δόγμα of Clement’s text conform to the Italian translation (made by Giovanni Pini) in which we find “tre principi,” (that is, three principles) and would distance myself from the French one which opts for “trois

vérités." (that is, three truths). This choice derives from the idea that the expression τῶν τριῶν δογμάτων τὴν γινώσκιν which concludes *Strom.* II 15, 67, 1 seems to allude to the awareness of fundamental sins, of "principles" in the strictest sense of the word, in the same meanings for what Origen—according to Lorenzo Perrone in *Princ.* I praef., 4, see Lorenzo Perrone, "Metodo," in A. Monaci Castagno (ed.), *Origene. Dizionario. La cultura, il pensiero, le opere* (Rome: Città Nuova, 2000), 276–81, 280—intends to contrast with δόγματα ("ambito delle dottrine chiaramente contenute nella predicazione apostolica," *ibid.*, that is the doctrines recalled by Clement in this section)—to ζητήσεις ("libero campo su cui può esercitarsi l'indagine teologica," *ibid.*). Moreover, in this way:

- 1) we may understand the reason for opposing the "search (ζήτησις) for sinners" in *Strom.* II 15, 66, 2 ("ζητήσουσιν τὴν ἀδικίαν Ἰσραήλ," quoted from Jer. 27:20) and the awareness of the principles (δόγματα) of sins (ἁμαρτίαι, a term that had just appeared in 66, 5 in a quotation of 1 John 5:17);
- 2) Clement's God, "who forgives the sins" (*Strom.* II 15, 66, 3), is as such essentially the ἔν θεός (*Strom.* II 15, 66, 2) and therefore he corresponds to the *unus Deus* that we may find in Rufinus' translation of Origen's *Princ.* I praef., 4.

Operating in this way I am adopting a historical perspective, beyond the philological one. I am perfectly aware that δόγμα and ἀρχή are not the same word. And I am also aware that speaking of "sin as a principle" means using the concept of principle *lato sensu* (i.e. fundamental notion of "sin"). But Origen, too, speaks of sin as a doctrinal principle and, more in general, one must consider that the meaning of words changes diachronically. In this case, I would like to recall the results of an old article by Congar (Yves Congar, "Cephas-Céphalè-Caput," *Revue du moyen âge latin* 8 (1952) 5–42—reprinted in Yves Congar, *Etudes d'ecclésiologie médiévale*, 1983, 5–42) which brilliantly shows an example of how the word "Cephas," which referred to the concept of the chief of the Church, changed its meaning several times from IV to XVII century. Congar's conclusions remind us that only the philological analysis of ancient words is not enough if we intend to study their historical reception and transformations. After Congar, the so-called *Begriffsgeschichte*—established by Otto Brunner, Werner Conze and Reinhart Koselleck—gave (most likely unaware of Congar's article) substance to Congar's intuition. The monumental *Lexikon Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1972–1993), systematized the awareness that words and terms remain the same, while their meanings constantly change. On the general value of the contribution of *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* for every historical analysis—not only for political concepts—see Giuseppe Duso, *Introduzione*, in G. Duso (ed.), *Il Potere. Per la storia della filosofia politica moderna* (Roma: Carocci, 1999), 15–28, in particular 17–18 and the introduction of the late Merio Scattola, *Teologia politica* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2007). The teaching of Brunner, Conze, and Koselleck is certainly valid for political concepts but is also the basis for every historical analysis that aims at considering different sources along a chronological order. Thus, returning to our issue at hand, I believe we should also take into account the plausibility of speaking of ἀρχαί as δόγματα if, for example, we intend to understand the continuities and changes between Clement and Origen better. Otherwise we run the risk of not understanding that what for Clement is now called

This mention of the “three principles” is clearly quite different from the texts A–F presented above, and thus far from being a promise to deal with First Principles. Here, Clement is simply speaking of a threefold classification of sins that he defines, nonetheless, as “principles,” in the sense of fundamental truths, basic notions of “sin.” As I said, Clement uses the word δόγματα, which we might translate as “principles,” though in a weak sense.⁸⁷ It is, however, appropriate to remember that the treatment of the issue of sin is also widely attested to in Origen’s *De principiis*,⁸⁸ although the distinction between sins that lead to death and those that are less serious—which is the theme of *Strom.* II 15, 66—is found primarily in other writings.⁸⁹ Thus, if we consider a possible (lexical and thematic) continuity between Clement and Origen, and if we put Clement’s thoughts within a broader historical framework, speaking of three sins as three basic notions (δόγματα) justifies the usage of the terms principles *lato sensu* for this usage.

That being said, it is interesting to compare the text of *Adumbrationes* in which a discussion of 1 John 5:16–17 would naturally belong—although, we must remember that Clement does not quote it here—with the reasoning found in *Strom.* II 15, 66–67, which does in fact quote 1 John 5:16–17, as the two texts seems complementary.⁹⁰ In *Adumbrationes*, we find:

Adumbr. III 5, 8: *Spiritus*, quod est vita,
et *aqua*, quod est regeneratio ac fides,
et *sanguis*, quod est cognitio,
et *hi tres unum sunt*. In salvatore quippe istae sunt virtutes salutiferae,
et vita ipsa in ipso Filio eius exsistit.

The spirit, as it is life,
the water, as it is regeneration and faith,
and *the blood*, as it is knowledge,

δόγμα is for Origen ἀρχή. However, as we are going to see, it is also connected with what for Clement is actually ἀρχή. This—in my opinion—also justifies Pini’s translation.

87 See also my previous note.

88 The main aspects of the theme of sin, in *Princ.*, are: the protological fall (see *Princ.* I 4, 1 and II 9, 6); the relationship sin-reason (see I 3, 6 and 5, 2); sin as the excessive fulfillment of natural needs (see III 2, 2); the responsibility and the freedom of man to sin and the possibility to redeem himself (see III 1); and the purification of the sin by fire (see II 10, 8).

89 See *Fr. Cor.* 13, *Fr. Luc.* 64, *Hom. Luc.* 35, 11.

90 For the quotation of 1 John 5:16–17 in *Strom.* II 15, 66, 5 see above note 85.

and these three are one alone. In the Savior these are truly healing powers, and life itself exists within his own Son.⁹¹

Given the strong symmetry of this passage, which I have attempted to make clear, we may recognize an attempt to facilitate the memorization of the spirit-water-blood hermeneutic. What emerges here, as in the First Epistle of John, is that Clement highlights a soteriological triad, a triadic articulation of healing powers. Now, it should be noted that the *Stromateis* mention three possible *triads of sin*, based on three interpretations given to the “wicked,” the “sinners,” and “the arrogant” of Psalm 1:1:

- the interpretation of the Epistle of Barnabas, in *Strom.* 11 15, 67, 1–3;⁹²
- the interpretation of an unknown “wise man” (perhaps Pantaenus?), in *Strom.* 11 15, 67, 4;⁹³

91 For a comment on this passage see Dainese, *Adombrazioni*, 202–5. Perhaps this threefold classification could be related to Origen's threefold distinction of Scripture in *Princ.* IV 2, 4, on which see Jordan D. Wood, “Origen's Polemics in *Princ.* 4, 2, 4: Scriptural Literalism as a Christo-Metaphysical Error,” *VChr* 69 (2015) 30–69.

92 *Strom.* 11 15, 67, 1–3: “David, too, and Moses before David, show the knowledge of the three precepts in the following words: *Blessed is the man who walks not in the counsel of the ungodly*; as the fishes go down to the depths in darkness; for those which have not scales, which Moses prohibits touching, feed at the bottom of the sea. *Nor standeth in the way of sinners*, as those who, while appearing to fear the Lord, commit sin, like the sow, for when hungry it cries, and when full knows not its owner. *Nor sitteth in the chair of pestilences*, as birds ready for prey. And Moses enjoined *not to eat the sow, nor the eagle, nor the hawk, nor the raven, nor any fish without scales*. So far Barnabas. [Ἀλλὰ καὶ Δαβὶδ καὶ πρὸς Δαβὶδ ὁ Μωϋσῆς τῶν τριῶν δογματῶν τὴν γνῶσιν ἐμφαίνουσιν διὰ τούτων· μακάριος ἀνὴρ ὃς οὐκ ἐπορεύθη ἐν βουλῇ ἀσεβῶν, καθὼς οἱ ἰχθύες πορεύονται ἐν σκότει εἰς τὰ βάθη· οἱ γὰρ λεπίδα μὴ ἔχοντες, ὧν ἀπαγορεύει Μωϋσῆς ἐφάπτεσθαι, κάτω τῆς θαλάσσης νέμονται· οὐδὲ ἐν ὁδῷ ἁμαρτωλῶν ἔσται, καθὼς οἱ δοκούντες φοβεῖσθαι τὸν κύριον ἁμαρτάνουσιν ὡς ὁ χοῖρος· πεινῶν γὰρ κραυγάζει, πληρωθεὶς δὲ τὸν δεσπότην οὐ γνωρίζει· οὐδὲ ἐπὶ καθέδραν λοιμῶν ἐκάθισεν, καθὼς τὰ πτηνὰ εἰς ἀρπαγὴν ἔτοιμα. Παρήγεσε δὲ Μωϋσῆς· οὐ φάγεσθε χοῖρον οὐδὲ ἀετὸν οὐδὲ ὀξύπτερον οὐδὲ κόρακα οὐδὲ πάντ' ἰχθύν ὃς οὐκ ἔχει λεπίδα ἐν αὐτῷ. Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Βαρνάβας.]”

93 *Strom.* 11 15, 67, 4: “And I heard the following words by a wise man: *the counsel of the ungodly* was the heathen, and *the way of sinners* the Jewish persuasion, and explain the *chair of pestilences* of heresies. [Ἀκήκοα δ' ἔγωγε σοφοῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀνδρὸς βουλὴν μὲν ἀσεβῶν τὰ ἔθνη λέγοντος, ὁδὸν δὲ ἁμαρτωλῶν τὴν Ἰουδαϊκὴν ὑπόληψιν καὶ καθέδραν λοιμῶν τὰς αἱρέσεις ἐκλαμβάνοντος.]”

- the interpretation of Psalm 1:1 by another author who is even more difficult to identify (*Strom.* II 15, 68, 1)⁹⁴ but whose exegesis was adapted by Clement in *Paed.* III 11, 76, 3.⁹⁵

It would therefore seem that the soteriological trilogy of *Adumbriationes* “positively” complements those of the sins—“principles” of the *Stromateis*.

This complementarity among the respective sections of the *Stromateis* and *Adumbrationes* that we are examining is reinforced by another element. In the *Adumbrationes*, “life,” “regeneration and faith,” and “knowledge” are all “healing power,” but “life” holds a priority over the other two as it is the only one that exists “in the [...] Son.”⁹⁶ Likewise, the text of *Strom.* II 15, 66, 5 (by means of 1 John 5:16–17 which is quoted here)⁹⁷ is also concerned with life and death, as it marks the distinction between “sin that leads to death” and “sin that leads not to death.” Moreover, as in the *Adumbrationes*, Clement distinguishes “life” among the “healing powers,” while in *Strom.* II 15, 66, 5 he differentiates “sin leading to death” among all sins.

Although 1 John 5:16–17 (quoted in *Strom.* II 15, 66, 5) is not cited in the *Adumbrationes*, it is reasonable to assume that Clement had it in mind when he wrote *Adumbr.* III 5, 8, since, after section 5, 8–14 (that is, the soteriological triad/topic of forgiveness), he switches directly from interpreting 1 John 5:8–14 (which deals with healing-forgiveness) to the exegesis of 1 John 5:19 (which

94 *Strom.* II 15, 68, 1: “And another said, with more propriety, that the first blessing was assigned to those who had not followed wicked sentiments which revolt from God; the second to those who do not remain in the wide and broad road, whether they be those who have been brought up in the law, or Gentiles who have repented. And *the chair of pestilences* will be the theatres and tribunals, or rather the compliance with wicked and deadly powers, and complicity with their deeds. [”Ετερος δὲ κυριώτερον ἔλεγεν τὸν μὲν πρῶτον μακαρισμὸν τετάχθαι ἐπὶ τῶν μὴ κατακολουθησάντων ταῖς γνώμας ταῖς πονηραῖς, ταῖς ἀποστατησάσαις τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸν δεύτερον δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τῇ εὐρυχώρῳ καὶ πλατείᾳ ὁδῷ οὐκ ἐμμενόντων, ἢ τῶν ἐν νόμῳ τραφέντων ἢ καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἐθνῶν μετανενοηκότων· καθέδρα δὲ λοιμῶν καὶ τὰ θέατρα καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια εἴη ἂν <ἡ>, ὅπερ καὶ μᾶλλον, ἢ ἐξακολουθήσεις ταῖς πονηραῖς καὶ ταῖς λυμαντικαῖς ἐξουσίαις καὶ ἡ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν κοινωνία.]”

95 *Paed.* III 11, 76, 3: “The Instructor will not then bring us to public spectacles; nor inappropriately might one call the racecourse and the theatre *the chair of pestilences*; for there is evil *counsel* as against the Just One, and therefore the assembly against Him is execrated [Οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τὰς θέας ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἄξει ἡμᾶς, οὐδὲ ἀπεικότως τὰ στάδια καὶ τὰ θέατρα καθέδραν λοιμῶν προσείποι τις ἂν· βουλὴ γὰρ κάνταῦθα πονηρὰ καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ δικαίῳ, διὸ καταρᾶται ὁ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ σύλλογος.]”

96 Clement probably refers to John 1:4: *In him was life*.

97 See note 85 above.

deals with the topic of evil).⁹⁸ A clearer explanation of the structure employed by Clement in *Adumbr.* III 5, 8, which, like the structure of sin that Clement (in *Strom.* II 15) sees in 1 John 5:16–17, is triadic, would have been very useful to preserve the coherence of the final section of the third *Adumbratio* (that is, *Adumbr.* III 5, 8–19).

Alongside the two complementary features of *Adumbr.* III and *Strom.* II 15, 66–69, the latter discussion helps us highlight another element of affinity. In *Strom.* II 15, 69 Clement uses the distinction among the “three principles,” meaning the three forms of sin, to affirm that the essential function of healing is forgiveness. Indeed, after the digression on the three kinds of sin he states that “forgiveness does not exist in order to condone, but to heal.”⁹⁹ Healing, as we have seen, is at the center of the soteriological triad of *Adumbr.* III, in which Clement states that “these”—the Spirit-life, water-regeneration/faith and blood-knowledge—“are healing powers.”

The similarity in what the *Stromateis* and the *Adumbrationes* say about the topic of the *First Principles* thus corroborates what was suggested by Clement's exegesis of 1 John 2:7, viz. that the *Adumbrationes* can aid in a reconstruction of Clement's planned reflections on this theme¹⁰⁰ to which he alludes in the *Stromateis*.

The main difference between the texts of *Adumbr.* III and *Strom.* II 15, 66–69 is the length of Clement's argument, which is much more developed in *Strom.* II 15 than in *Adumbr.* III. On the one hand, in fact, in only a few lines in *Adumbr.* III Clement:

- first highlights the healing powers of the Son of God (5, 6–8);¹⁰¹
- then clarifies how to pray to him to ask for his intercession (5, 14);¹⁰²
- and finally closes by pointing out that evil, from which men are saved by the Son of God, is “life according to their desires.” (5, 19)¹⁰³

98 *Adumbr.* III 5, 19: *Et mundus omnis in maligno constitutus est, non creatura, sed saeculares homines et secundum concupiscentias viventes.*

99 *Strom.* II 15, 70, 3.

100 Both in general and in specific (that is, as First Principles) terms. See See above note 63.

101 See pp. 316–7 above.

102 *Adumbr.* III 5, 14: *Et haec est confidentia, quam habemus ad eum, quia, si quid petierimus secundum voluntatem eius, audiet nos.* Non absolute dixit “quod petierimus,” sed “quod oportet petere.”

103 See note 60 above.

On the other hand, in the text of *Strom.* II 15 that we have considered here in § 3.5, Clement's main point is to explain how forgiveness of sins really works, and he does so by means of a long discussion on the different kinds of sin which seems to be completely detached from the main argument that he is developing. Clement starts in *Strom.* II 15, 66, 5 by quoting 1 John 5:16–17, which deals with the theme of prayer for sinners. According to him, this is proof of the “Good God, who forgives the sins.”¹⁰⁴ His discussion finally closes in *Strom.* II 15, 70 with the statement that “forgiveness does not exist in order to condone, but to heal,”¹⁰⁵ as has already been said. The whole of Clement's discussion therefore appears to concern the topic of forgiveness, which is certainly related to that of sin but which also does not justify such a subtle digression on the three kinds of sin as the long section of *Strom.* II 15, 66–69.

Although this disorganized style is quite typical of Clement's exposition, and even though the *Stromateis* certainly do not claim to be a clear and linear text, I think that in this case there is a reason for Clement's confusing argumentation. In particular, the text of *Adumbr.* III could explain why, for Clement: 1) God heals by means of men's prayers for their brothers' sins¹⁰⁶ and, above all, 2) why the discussion on three kinds of sin¹⁰⁷ is relevant after quoting a text from 1 John. Indeed, the final part of *Adumbr.* III (that is, *Adumbr.* III 5, 8–19) first relates God's healing powers and men's invocation of God (Clement linked the healing powers, which he conceives as implicit in 1 John 5:8, directly to 1 John 5:14, which deals with how God could be invoked)¹⁰⁸ and, secondly, it clarifies that there are three healing powers (Spirit-life, water-regeneration/fairth and blood-knowledge) as well as, according to *Strom.* II 15, 67–69, three kinds of sin.

In this sense, the long passage of *Strom.* II 15, 66–69 would no longer appear to be a confusing digression but a sort of a “long parenthesis” within the argument that is presented more clearly in the *Adumbrationes* (and by using the word “parenthesis” I do not mean that the text of the *Strom.* II 15, 66–69 is “cut” from the *Adumbrationes* and “pasted” in the *Stromateis*).

The impression I have is that the digression on the three kinds of sin seems to imply a line of thought that is attested to in the *Adumbrationes* as deriving directly from the Holy Scripture but not spelled out in this passage from the

¹⁰⁴ *Strom.* II 15, 66, 3.

¹⁰⁵ *Strom.* II 15, 70, 3.

¹⁰⁶ The text of 1 John 5:1–17 (which focuses on the theme of prayer for sinners), in fact, justifies God's act of forgiveness.

¹⁰⁷ As Clement's digression on *Strom.* II 15, 67–69 shows.

¹⁰⁸ See above, page 319, notes 101 and 102.

Stromateis. This does not explain why in *Adumbrationes* the text of 1 John 5:16–17 is not taken into account and clarified as many other passages of John's first letter are. Nevertheless, I think that this connection, this *akolouthia* as it were, between *Adumbr.* III 5, 8–14 and *Strom.* II might also help us understand the role of *Adumbr.* III 2, 7 in the light of Clement's reflection on the *topic of First Principles* (which is also the theme of *Strom.* II 15, as I said before). But I will try to make this point in the next and concluding paragraph.

5 Additional Thoughts and General Conclusions

In the preceding section I focused mainly on two texts of Clement's *Adumbrationes*: *Adumbr.* III 2, 7 and *Adumbr.* III 5, 8–14. Although in the former (that is, in *Adumbr.* III 2, 7), Clement's own words are very few if compared with those of the biblical text itself, it is quite surprising how in this text one may find solutions to problems that Clement says he hopes to solve in some future text¹⁰⁹ on the First Principles. As for the second text and *Adumbr.* III 5, 8–14 specifically, I have noted that it, too, is related to the *topic of the First Principles*. As was said in § 3.5, this last section of the third *Adumbratio* seems to explain why in *Strom.* II 15, 66–69 Clement links a quotation from 1 John 5:16–17 and a long digression (which he sees as a discussion on the First Principles, although we should consider these as “principles” only *latu sensu* and in view of a plausible continuity with Origen)¹¹⁰ about three kinds of sin. In conclusion, I will explore the implications of these outcomes.

A good starting point would be to bear in mind that the solution to specific problems mentioned by Clement when he promises future explanations on certain topics is not necessarily to be found in a discrete work. In previous studies I have discussed how Clement handled doctrines on which he had promised further analysis. In the case of the doctrine of the soul, Clement's promises do not seem to have been fulfilled in a separate work but in a section in the *Stromateis*. An extended digression in *Strom.* VI 16, 134–136 seems to solve all the problems that Clement brought up in earlier promises of a fuller treatment (in *Strom.* II 20, 112–113, *Strom.* III 3, 13, *Strom.* IV 12, 85, 3, and *Strom.* V 13, 88, 2–3).¹¹¹

109 That is, an independent treatise or perhaps a longer section of a work that he had already written.

110 Clement does not define them as ἀρχαί but δόγματα. See above, page 314, note 86.

111 On this, see my *Passibilità divina*, 46–51 and 227.

In particular, on the doctrine of the soul I observed that Clement's speculation takes its starting point from the collection and interpretation of passages from the Holy Scriptures. More precisely, I have proposed that *Ecl.* 28–36 indicates Clement's *modus procedendi*.¹¹² Before writing, Clement felt it necessary to:

- a) study issues and themes of discussion (*Ecl.* 28, 1);
- b) look for supporting resources, reading texts and opinions to get informed. For example, in the text of *Ecl.* 32, 2 he mentions the Holy Scriptures, but such a liberal writer as Clement did not disdain philosophical theories or other traditions. This is the “source-hunting phase” corresponding to the analysis before εἰς τὰς τῶν πέλας ζητήσεις καθιέναι, as Clement says in *Ecl.* 36, 1;¹¹³
- c) practice (*Ecl.* 36, 2, Clement uses the metaphor of “young birds” attempting “to fly in the nest, exercising their wings,” meaning “to descend to questions regarding things contiguous,” or rather formulating one's own solutions to certain problems).¹¹⁴

As for Clement's promises to discuss “first principles,” the present analysis of passages in Clement's *Adumbrationes* suggests a similar conclusion. The hypothesis that Clement discussed this theme in a lost treatise on First Principles is surely possible. But it seems more likely to me that Clement intended to fulfill this promise within the *Stromateis*. As in his treatment of the doctrine of the soul in *Ecl.* 28–36, here Clement's reflection starts from biblical exegeses. His thought, after all, does not claim to substitute for, but to clarify the Holy Scriptures and a certain tradition of interpreting them.¹¹⁵

¹¹² This is the thesis of my essay “The Idea of Martyrdom.”

¹¹³ On this, see my “The Idea of Martyrdom,” 235.

¹¹⁴ *Ecl.* 36, 2: “and when he thinks himself right [after a certain preparatory work expressed in 36, 1 by the verbs γύμναζειν and μελετᾶν, see also *ibid.*, 234], to descend to questions regarding things contiguous. For the young birds make attempts to fly in the nest, exercising their wings.”

¹¹⁵ I would not be surprised if research into Clement's doctrine of First Principles (which goes beyond the scope of this essay) were to uncover that the *Stromateis* already included systematic answers to the questions Clement raises when he hints at the First Principles or at their topic—as was the case for his doctrine on the soul. Unfortunately, this research has yet to be undertaken, but I am nonetheless quite persuaded that Clement's reflection on this issue starts from these—and perhaps others, but certainly *these*—biblical exegeses.

From the foregoing discussion we can draw two conclusions. The first concerns § 2 of this paper which focused on the structure of the exegesis of 1 John in the *Adumbrationes*. Even though this work is not a treatise,¹¹⁶ the *Adumbrationes* nonetheless appears to be a unified discourse with its own internal consistency.

The second conclusion concerns the two passages of the *Adumbrationes* that I have discussed as two case studies for comprehending the relationship between the *Adumbrationes*—that is, such compressed biblical exegesis—and the broader discussions and argumentations of Clement's *Stromateis*. As stated above, I believe that the *Adumbrationes* belong to an "intermediate phase"—a source-hunting phase, if you like—in which Clement looks for solutions to certain problems but has yet to elaborate his own personal answer. The reflections in *Adumbr.* III 2, 7 and *Adumbr.* III 5, 8–14 certainly relate to Clement's doctrine of the First Principles. It is likely that they immediately precede Clement's more exhaustive explanation.

We do not know, however:

- whether Clement wrote his explanations on the doctrine of the First Principles in a work called *De principiis* which is no longer extant;
- nor if he gave his intended solution to the issues raised about First Principles in a section of the *Stromateis* to which scholars simply have not yet paid enough attention.

It can, I think, be ruled out that the whole third *Adumbratio* is a treatise that might be called *De principiis*, as only two of its parts are clearly related to the doctrine of the First Principles (as this topic appears in the *Stromateis*). I think as well it unlikely that Cassiodorus' "corrections"¹¹⁷ have significantly changed the *structure* of this *Adumbratio* (or that of the whole *Adumbrationes*), by changing a systematic treatise into an exegetical writing.

Nevertheless it seems that Clement at least *started* elaborating his own response to the problems concerning this topic in *Adumbr.* III 5, 8–14, and above all *Adumbr.* III 2, 7.¹¹⁸ In interpreting 1 John Clement, in fact, asked the

116 Let us keep the definition given by Cassiodorus: they are illustrations of "parts" of the Holy Scriptures.

117 Cassiodorus, in fact, explicitly states that he corrected Clement's text when he says that in Clement's *Adumbrationes* "aliqua incaute locutus est," so that "nos ita transferri fecimus in Latinum, ut exclusis quibusdam offenculis purificata doctrina eius securior potuisset auriri."

118 And perhaps he also finished it, depending on the interpretation of *Quis div.* 26, 8, cf. above note 62.

text a variety of questions, and one important set of questions concerned how to elaborate a Christian doctrine of First Principles.

Thus, to sum up briefly, I would suggest that these *Adumbrationes* represent a middle ground between the raising of specific theoretical problems that Clement wants to consider and their systematic solution. In particular, *Adumbr.* III 2, 7 and *Adumbr.* III 5, 8–14 should be considered as written in a time frame between the moment of the promises of a future *De principiis* and this treatment itself. Whether this later treatment is to be regarded as a lost independent work or (as in the case of “Clement’s *De anima*”) a long section of the *Stromateis* is a subject that merits further exploration.

Reading the “Divinely Inspired” Paul: Clement of Alexandria in Conversation with “Heterodox” Christians, Simple Believers, and Greek Philosophers

Judith L. Kovacs

1 Introduction

Clement knows the Pauline corpus well, and he loves it. He quotes from thirteen of the fourteen letters for which Pauline authorship was claimed in the patristic period, all except Philemon. This includes Hebrews which he explicitly attributes to “the apostle.”¹ In addition to a large number of quotations, his works are full of brief allusions, and certain phrases from his favorite Pauline verses have entered into the syntax of Clement’s thought, appearing again and again in the *Stromateis*. These include: *Christ is the power and wisdom of God* (1 Cor 1:24); *what eye has not seen* (1 Cor 2:9); *in many and various ways* (Heb 1:1), and *into the perfect man* (Eph 4:13).²

As Annewies van den Hoek has pointed out, Clement quotes Paul more frequently than any other author. “The champion in terms of popularity,” she writes, “is not to be found among the likes of Plato, the Stoics, Homer, Hesiod, Euripides, or Herodotus, but is, by quite a wide margin, good old Saint Paul.”³ She notes that Stählin’s index lists 1273 borrowings from the Pauline letters, more than twice as many as from the second most cited author, Plato.⁴ Further, she counts 309 references to the person of Paul by name or as “the apostle.”⁵ Given the prominence of Paul in Clement’s writings, it is surprising that, while his debt to Plato and to other Greek philosophers has been much studied, his

1 See *Strom.* 1 4, 27 and Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* VI 14, 2.

2 Biblical texts are cited after the NRSV and printed in italics.

3 Annewies van den Hoek, “Techniques of Quotations in Clement of Alexandria: A View of Ancient Literary Working Methods,” *VChr* 50 (1996) 223–43, here 227.

4 Van den Hoek, “Techniques,” 227. Note her *caveat* that Stählin’s index is not entirely accurate. I would add to this that many allusions made by means of a single word or phrase are not counted by Stählin.

5 Van den Hoek, “Techniques,” 229. Of the four authors most often cited by name, Paul is the only Christian author; the others (in order of frequency) are: Plato, Homer, and Euripides.

interpretation of Paul has received little attention. Three studies published in the 1930's emphasize points on which Clement has misinterpreted Paul's theology.⁶ Brief articles by Raoul Mortley and Eric Osborn consider, respectively, Clement's interpretation of 1 Cor 13:12 and how Paul and Plato are brought together in Clement's ethics.⁷ Claude Mondésert, in a book that is still the most extensive study we have of Clement's exegesis,⁸ does not include a section on interpretation of Paul, but he makes occasional reference to interpretation of Pauline verses. At the end of his book Mondésert suggests that more study is needed of what Clement's theology owes to various biblical books, what specific biblical verses he cites most often and which are most important to his thought.⁹ In particular, he notes the need for more detailed study of what Clement has adopted from the theology of Saint Paul.¹⁰

As Mondésert was well aware, Clement's citations from and allusions to Pauline texts are far too numerous to survey in a short article. In this study I shall not compare Clement's interpretation of Paul's letters with twenty-first-century readings of the apostle's theology, nor will I organize my discussion around theological topics such as the nature of man, grace and faith, faith and works, and the person of Christ, as does Maurice Wiles in *The Divine Apostle*, the classic study of patristic interpretation of Paul.¹¹ Instead, I shall focus on

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- 6 Eva Aleith, *Das Paulusverständnis in der alten Kirche* (Berlin: Topelman, 1937), 91–6; Fritz Buri, *Clemens Alexandrinus und der paulinische Freiheitsbegriff* (Zürich: M. Niehans, 1939); Heinrich Seesemann, "Das Paulusverständnis des Clemens Alexandrinus," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 107 (1936) 312–46. Seesemann's article begins: "Dass Paulus in der Alten Kirche sehr bald missverstanden wurde, ist allbekannt. Viel weniger ist man jedoch bisher der Frage nachgegangen, wie Paulus missverstanden wurde." He concludes with a contrast between Clement's emphasis on man's seeking divinisation and Paul's teaching of "justification by faith": "Die Kluft zwischen [Clemens] und Paulus ist damit unüberbrückbar geworden."
 - 7 Raoul Mortley, "The Mirror and 1 Cor 13, 12 in the epistemology of Clement of Alexandria," *VChr* 30 (1976) 109–20; Eric Osborn, "Paul and Plato in Second Century Ethics," *SP* 15/1 (1984) 474–85.
 - 8 Claude Mondésert, *Clément d'Alexandrie. Introduction à l'étude de sa pensée religieuse à partir de l'Écriture* (Paris: Aubier, 1944). For a summary of this book see my Introduction in the present volume, "Clement as Scriptural Exegete: Overview and History of Research."
 - 9 Mondésert, *Introduction*, 252, n. 1. He points out that frequency of citation and importance are not always the same.
 - 10 Mondésert, *Introduction*, 252, n. 2: "Il vaudrait la peine, par exemple, pour bien caractériser la pensée religieuse de Clément, de marquer ce qu'il a compris et adopté de la théologie de S. Paul, et ce qu'il a omis ou mal interprété."
 - 11 Maurice Wiles, *The Divine Apostle: The Interpretation of St. Paul's Epistles in the Early Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1967). This book includes a number of brief discussions

one striking feature of Clement's exegesis: the extent to which it takes place in conversation with other interpreters. Clement is one of the first to make use of an extensive Pauline corpus, and he writes in a fertile intellectual environment, in which many aspects of the new faith occasioned lively debate. Much of his discussion of passages from Paul occurs in the context of real or imagined conversations with several groups of interlocutors. Three types of Pauline exegetes appear especially frequently in Clement's writings: "heterodox" Christians such as Marcion, radical ascetics, and the followers of Valentinus, simple believers (*simpliciores*) who opposed the use of Greek philosophy in Christian theology, and Greek "philosophers," i.e. educated Greeks who criticized the fledgling Christian religion.¹² I shall focus on two questions: 1) which of Paul's words most caught the attention of Clement and his conversation partners, and 2) in what ways did these texts inspire or trouble them?

2 Exegetical Debates with "Heterodox" Christians

Texts from the apostle Paul figure prominently in Clement's debates with Christian teachers whom he regards as ἑτεροδόξοι or in some way deficient. I will mention here only a few examples of these exegetical debates, concentrating on: 1) sections of the *Paidagogos*, *Stromateis*, and *Excerpts from Theodotus* in which Clement responds to exegesis of Paul by followers of Valentinus, often without naming his dialogue partners; 2) the lengthy debates about marriage in Book III of the *Stromateis*, in which verses from the Pauline letters play a large part.

of Clement's interpretation of specific Pauline texts, on subjects such as the nature of the body (pp. 27–8), the Old Testament law (pp. 55, 58, 60–1, 63–4, 70), and faith and works (pp. 128–30). See also references to Clement on pages 19, 112 and 118.

- 12 Clement addresses these groups of interlocutors repeatedly but has no consistent way of referring to them. I speak of them as "heterodox, *simpliciores*, and Greek philosophers" *faute de mieux*, realizing that each of these terms has limitations. "Heterodox" refers to a variety of Christian teachers of whom Clement is critical, including Marcion, Tatian, Carpocrates, and (some of the time) Basilides and Valentinus and their followers. In the rare cases where Clement generalizes about such teachers he calls them ἑτεροδόξοι or (more often) the ἄρεσσις. I avoid referring to these teachers as "gnostics" because Clement explicitly denies them this honorific, claiming it instead for his own ideal Christian. When Clement speaks of "the Greeks" as dialogue partners, he seems to have in mind primarily Greeks trained in philosophy.

2.1 *Response to Valentinian Exegesis of Paul*

The followers of Valentinus have had considerable influence on how Clement reads the apostle's letters. For example he follows the lead of Valentinian exegetes in paying close attention to the many contrasting pairs of terms used by Paul, including milk and meat, child and perfect one, law and gospel, works and grace, slave and son, fear and love. These contrasts play a significant role in Clement's interpretation of Paul—and in his understanding of the Christian life as gradual progress towards perfection, from “faith” to “knowledge” (*gnosis*).

In *Stromateis* VII Clement reports that Valentinus claimed to be a pupil of Theudas, who was a pupil of Paul (VII 17, 106). His followers were particularly attracted to Paul's assertion in Romans and Galatians that salvation is a gift of divine grace, not a reward for human “works,” and they claimed to be the “spiritual ones” to whom Paul refers in 1 Corinthians 2–3, who have special knowledge (*gnosis*) and are superior to ordinary Christians, who rely on mere faith and the performance of good “works.” They took seriously Paul's election language, for example how he tells Christians in Ephesus *you were chosen before the foundation of the world* (Eph 1:4)—a verse that figures in some versions of the Valentinian myth of the pre-cosmic origins of the elect, the “spiritual seed.”¹³

Clement can quote Valentinus and his follower Heracleon with approval,¹⁴ and his long discussion of marriage in *Stromateis* III begins with a commendation of Valentinian views on marriage (III 1, 1). But at many points in his writings he takes issue with Valentinian teachings, usually without any clear identification of his conversation partners. Pauline interpretation figures prominently in these discussions. In book I of the *Paidagogos*, for example Clement devotes the whole sixth chapter to disputing Valentinian interpretation of 1 Corinthians 2–3, according to which three contrasting pairs of terms—ψυχικοί and πνευματικοί, “milk” and “meat,” and νήπιοι and τέλειοι, indicate differences between the Christian majority and the Valentinian elect.

13 I discuss Valentinian exegesis of Paul in the following articles, “The Language of Grace: Valentinian Reflection on New Testament Imagery,” in Z. Bennett and D.B. Gowler (eds.), *Radical Christian Voices and Practice: Essays in Honour of Christopher Rowland* (Oxford: OUP, 2012), 69–85; “Participation in the Cross of Christ: Pauline Motifs in the *Excerpts from Theodotus*,” in Einar Thomassen (ed.), *Valentinianism. Proceedings of the Colloquium in Rome, October 2013* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming); and “In order that we might follow him in all things: Interpretation of Gospel Texts in *Excerpts from Theodotus* 66–86,” forthcoming in *Studia Patristica*. See also Elaine Pagels, *The Gnostic Paul* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975).

14 Valentinus: *Strom.* III 7, 59, 3; VI 6, 52, 3–4; Heracleon: *Strom.* IV 9, 71–72.

Clement, understanding this exegesis as a criticism of his own group,¹⁵ defends the faith and the baptism of his church. For example he asserts:

For we are not called "children" or "babies" (νήπιοι) because of the childish and contemptible nature of our teaching, as those who puff themselves up with *gnosis* slanderously claim.¹⁶

Noting that baptism is called "illumination," he takes this to mean that it conveys knowledge of God; thus, it is not deficient but brings perfection (I 6, 25, 1). There is no need of additional knowledge. He cites Gal 3:23–28 and 1 Cor 12:13 as arguments for the equality of all Christians and against the distinction between ψυχικοί and πνευματικοί (I 6, 30, 2–31, 2) and insists that his church's teaching is "perfect" and "spiritual," not "childish" and "imperfect" (I 6, 35, 3).¹⁷

In the *Stromateis* Clement continues to oppose Valentinian criticism of the Christian majority, but here he does so in a very different way: refutation by adaptation. While still rejecting the idea that his fellow Christians are the "childish" ψυχικοί to whom Paul refers in 1 Corinthians 2–3, he now follows Valentinian exegetes in highlighting what Paul says about *wisdom* for *the perfect ones* (1 Cor 2:6) and arguing that there is a *gnosis* that goes beyond the church's basic catechetical teaching (*Strom.* v 10, 66). He adopts the Valentinians' distinction of "faith" and "*gnosis*" and uses it to describe two distinct stages in the Christian's progress towards perfection, from believer to "Gnostic"—as he calls the perfected Christian who emerges with within his church (*Strom.* v 1, 1). To counter Valentinian exegesis of *milk* and *meat* in 1 Cor 3:1–3, he quotes the building imagery that follows in verses 10–13, turning his opponents' criticism back on them. Genuine *gnosis*, he insists, is built on the *foundation* of faith. This is what Paul means when he speaks of building with *gold, silver and precious stones*, and it is to the false *gnosis* of the "sects" (αἵρεσεις)¹⁸ that Paul refers when he speaks of building with *straw, wood and hay* (*Strom.* v 4, 26).

15 Clement usually refers to the Christian group with whom he identifies simply as "we" (see, e.g., *Paed.* I 6, 25; *Strom.* v 1, 1). He appears to be defending the majority church.

16 *Paed.* I 6, 25, 1. Translations from Clement's works are my own.

17 For fuller treatment of Clement's response to Valentinian exegesis of Paul, including this passage in the *Paidagogos*, see Judith L. Kovacs: "Echoes of Valentinian Exegesis in Clement of Alexandria and Origen: The Interpretation of 1 Cor 3.1–3," in L. Perrone (ed.), *Origeniana Octava* (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 317–29.

18 Clement uses this word to designate Valentinians, among others. See, e.g., *Strom.* VII 16, 104–17, 108, where the term describes followers of Valentinus, Basilides, and Marcion.

Clement also takes issue with Valentinians who interpret the contrasts between the gospel and law, grace and works, sons and slaves in Romans 3–8 as indicating the inferiority of the Christian majority, who are slaves to the deficient god of the Old Testament and who practice a religion of “works” similar to what Paul condemns. Again and again Clement insists on the unity of law and gospel, works and grace.¹⁹ He is particularly concerned to defend the continuing importance of “works” and “righteousness” (or “justice”) in the higher stage of Christian life. Using the Pauline word ἔργα (“works”) to include both the moral commandments of the Bible and the practice of virtue as described by Greek philosophers, Clement asserts that there are two quite different kinds of works, those of the “slave,” performed out of fear, and the works of the true “son,” which are motivated solely by love of God. Progress from “faith” to “*gnosis*” involves a transformation from slavery to become a son who is near to God and imitates his beneficent action.²⁰

Clement’s annotated collection of Valentinian texts, the *Excerpts from Theodotus*, gives further evidence of how Valentinian exegesis was a springboard for Clement’s own interpretation of Pauline texts. Two themes from Paul’s letters are noteworthy in the sections of the *Excerpts* that have been attributed to Clement: christology and the description of the church as the body of Christ.²¹ Clement follows Valentinian exegetes in reflecting on the image of the church as the *body of Christ* in 1 Corinthians 12 and Romans 12, which was expanded in Colossians and Ephesians. Valentinian sections of the

19 See, e.g., *Strom.* IV 6, 39; V 1, 7.

20 See, e.g., *Strom.* VII 13, 82: “For [the Gnostic] perceives that he has become worthy to obtain the gracious gift (τῆς δωρεᾶς, cf. Rom 3:24) he has received, and when he has been transferred from slavery to sonship (μετατεθεὶς ἐκ δουλείας εἰς υἰοθεσίαν; cf. Rom 8:15; Gal 4:5.7.31; 5:1), he accomplishes the things that follow from knowledge . . . and exhibits actions that are worthy of the grace he has received. For works follow *gnosis*, as the shadow follows the body.” Cf. the discussions of two types of works in *Strom.* IV 18, 113–114; VI 7, 60. For further discussion of the theme of “works” and Clement’s reading of Romans see Judith L. Kovacs, “Grace and Works: Clement of Alexandria’s Response to Valentinian Exegesis of Paul,” in T. Nicklas, A. Merkt, and J. Verheyden (eds.), *Ancient and New Perspectives on Paul* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 191–210.

21 On christology: the Valentinian texts excerpted by Clement include reflections on Colossians 1 and Philippians 2, interpreted together with John 1, as implying a distinction between the savior who appeared on earth and a superior being who remained in the divine πλήρωμα (*Exc.* 31). In his own brief additions to the excerpted Valentinian texts, Clement disputes this reading, asserting that the earthly savior, described as “firstborn” in Col 1:15, is “one and the same” as the “only son” of John 1 (*Exc.* 33, 3). On these discussions see further, Judith L. Kovacs, “Clement of Alexandria and Valentinian Exegesis in the *Excerpts from Theodotus*,” *SP* 43 (2006) 187–200.

Excerpts interpret the “body of Christ” as the assembly of the spiritual elect, who were chosen *before the foundation of the world* (Eph 1:4–5) and then play a part in the divine plan for salvation by serving as the *body* of Christ the *head* (Eph 1:22) when he appeared on earth. Clement rejects this exegesis and interprets the image to refer to the final ascent of the perfected Christian to God, drawing on Eph 4:12–13 which speaks of *building up the body of Christ until all of us come to the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, to the perfect man*. This is one of Clement’s favorite Pauline verses.

2.2 *What does Paul Say about Marriage?: Clement against Antinomians and Radical Ascetics*

Clement’s extended discussion of marriage in *Stromateis* III provides a glimpse of lively exegetical debates about whether Paul was an antinomian, a radical ascetic, or an advocate of marriage—a discussion that involves passages from 1–2 Corinthians, Romans, Galatians, Philippians, Ephesians, Colossians, and 1 Timothy.²² Clement reports on antinomian interpreters who emphasized Paul’s message of salvation by divine grace and read Paul as proclaimer of total freedom, not only from the Jewish law but also from all moral standards. As warrant for sexual freedom, they cited Rom 6:14: (*For sin will have no dominion over you, since you are not under law but under grace*), Gal 5:13a (*For you were called to freedom, brothers*), and 1 Cor 6:12a (*All things are lawful*). In response, Clement argues that these verses must be interpreted in context, both the immediate context and the wider context of the rest of the Pauline corpus (especially 1 Timothy, Colossians, and Ephesians) and Scripture as a whole. He points out that in the verses surrounding those his opponents cite, Paul makes clear that the real problem is not the law but sin, and he cites long passages from Ephesians and Colossians where Paul rails against fornication and other sins. What Paul means by freedom, Clement observes, is deliverance from “lusts, and desires and other passions,” not moral license (*Strom.* III 5, 44).

On the other hand, Clement opposes radical ascetics²³ who call attention to Paul’s negative comments on the *flesh* (e.g., in Rom 7:18), his commands to put on the *new man* (Eph 4:24) and to *shun fornication* (1 Cor 6:18), and his reminder in Phil 3:20 that the true home of Christians is in heaven—verses

22 I discuss these debates in greater detail in “Was Paul an Antinomian, an Ascetic, or a Sober Married Man? Exegetical debates in Clement of Alexandria’s *Stromateis* 3,” in H. Weidemann (ed.), *Asceticism and Exegesis in Early Christianity* (Leuven: Brepols, 2013), 186–202.

23 This position is represented in Clement’s discussion by Tatian, Marcion, Julius Cassian and anonymous teachers whom he calls “sectarians opposed to the creator” (*Strom.* III 11, 76).

these exegetes interpreted as evidence that Paul was himself a radical ascetic who condemned the body, marriage, reproduction, this world, and its creator.²⁴

A key passage for the radical ascetics' position was Paul's treatment of marriage and sex in 1 Corinthians 7—the only extensive consideration of these matters in the New Testament. From what Clement writes, it appears that his dialogue partners emphasize especially verse 1 (*It is well for a man not to touch a woman*), verse 8 (*To the unmarried and the widows I say that it is well for them to remain unmarried as I am*) and verse 9 (*For it is better to marry than to be aflame with passion*).²⁵

In Clement's interpretation, these verses do not speak against marriage and conjugal relations; instead they advocate single marriage between continent spouses, who engage in sexual relations only for the purpose of procreation, not to satisfy desire. Paul promotes continence (ἐγκράτεια), Clement stresses, not only in sexual matters but also in all aspects of life. To make these points Clement exploits 1 Corinthians 7 verse 14, where Paul says that the unbelieving spouse and children of a married Christian are *holy*. He found this verse especially useful because it could serve to argue against both antinomians and radical ascetics, with its themes of holiness and begetting of children. He connects the verse with Paul's observation in 1 Cor 6:19 that his hearers' bodies are *a temple of the Holy Spirit*. These verses, Clement insists, declare the goodness of marriage, the body, and even the seminal fluid (*Strom.* III 6, 46, 5–47, 1).²⁶ He also adduces 1 Cor 7:17–24—where Paul speaks of the different states in which believers were *called*—as an argument that marriage is a worthy “calling” alongside celibacy. Important for his defense of marriage is the positive assessment in 1 Tim 4:1–4, as well as Paul's directive in this letter and in Romans 14 to partake of what God has created with thanksgiving (*Strom.* III 12, 85).

Clement also notes Paul's positive use of parental imagery in 1 Cor 4:15 and Gal 4:19 (III 15, 99) and interprets several Pauline verses as good counsel for continent married couples, for example his command in Gal 6:2 to *bear one*

24 Rom 7:18 is discussed in *Strom.* III 11, 76; 1 Cor 6:18 in III 12, 88–89; Eph 4:24 and Phil 3:20–21 in III 14, 95; see also III 14, 94 on 2 Cor 11:2–3 and III 11, 73 on 2 Cor 6:17–18.

25 Clement quotes radical ascetics' interpretations of 1 Corinthians 7, verse 1 in *Strom.* III 15, 96, verse 5 in III 12, 81, verse 8 in III 12, 85, and verse 9 in III 15, 97. In addition, in III 12, 88 he disputes a radical ascetic exegesis of verses 32–33.

26 Wiles, *The Divine Apostle*, 27, notes some ambivalence in Clement's view on the nature of the body. Commenting on *Strom.* III 3, 18, 1–3, he observes: “But Clement also shared some of that same distrust of the physical which lay at the root of the Gnostic's conviction. . . . He is even prepared to admit a certain similarity between the attitude of Paul to the body and that of Plato.”

another's burdens (III 1, 4). Noting Paul's insistence in 1 Cor 9:5 that he has the right to be accompanied by a wife, Clement even suggests that the *loyal companion* (or *yokefellow*, γνήσιε σύζυγε) he addresses in Phil 4:3 is his wife (III 6, 53).

3 Discussions with the *Simpliciores*

Two other groups with whom Clement is in conversation as he interprets the letters of Paul are simple believers and Greek philosophers. The main subject of conversation with both groups is the relation between the Bible and philosophy, a theme that is especially prominent in *Stromateis* I, II, VI and VII. Clement begins book I with an explanation of why he has decided to communicate some of his teaching in a written form. He quotes a number of Pauline verses, along with passages from Proverbs and the gospels, to demonstrate the importance of teaching and learning for Christians.²⁷ To justify his project of using Greek philosophy in interpreting the Bible he quotes what Paul says in 1 Cor 9:20–21:

*To the Jews I became as a Jew, in order to win Jews. . . . To those outside the law I became as one outside the law . . . so that I might win those outside the law.*²⁸

And to support his belief that Christians are called to pursue perfection, Clement cites Col 1:28: *It is [Christ] whom we proclaim, warning and teaching everyone in all wisdom, so that we may present everyone perfect in Christ.* At the end of chapter 1, Clement introduces as conversation partners people who "think that philosophy comes from an evil influence, for the ruin of men" (I 1, 18). Quoting several Pauline verses that could be interpreted as calling for such opposition to philosophy, Clement restricts their application to a specific kind of philosophy, which he labels as "sophistry."²⁹

Opponents of Christian use of philosophy reappear in chapter 9, here described as people who "demand bare faith alone" (*Strom.* I 9, 43). In response, Clement adduces a host of authorities to argue the salutary nature of reasoned speech: first, the Savior [the gospels], then Ben Sirach, Proverbs,

²⁷ He cites 2 Tim 2:1–2; Gal 6:8–9; Col 1:28 and Eph 4:11–12.

²⁸ *Strom.* I 1, 15.

²⁹ 1 Cor 1:22 is cited in *Strom.* I 2, 21, 1 Cor 1:19 in I 3, 24, 1 Cor 3:19 in I 3, 23, Eph 4:14 and Tit 1:10 in I 8, 41, and Gal 5:26 in I 8, 41.

Plato, Pythagoras and Pindar and—giving Paul the last word—2 Tim 2:14–17 (*Strom.* I 10, 46–49). Next he turns to several verses from Paul that his interlocutors must have highlighted, ending with a key verse Col 2:8:

*See to it that no one takes you captive through philosophy and empty deceit, according to human tradition, according to the elemental spirits of the universe, and not according to Christ.*³⁰

Clement interprets this text by adducing the narrative of Paul's encounter with Epicurean and Stoic philosophers on the Areopagus in Acts 17, claiming that Col 2:8 refers only to those philosophies that “do away with providence and deity pleasure.”³¹ He also points to the phrase *established in the faith* in Col 2:7,³² which he interprets to mean that the right kind of philosophical investigation “establishes and confirms providence” (I 11, 52). As for the phrase *according to the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου* (Col 2:8), Clement interprets this as a denunciation of philosophers who “worship the elements” or regard atoms as first principles.³³ He uses other verses from Paul to secure this interpretation, noting that in Gal 4:30 Paul associates slavery to the στοιχεῖα with childhood, from which Clement concludes that philosophers are “children” until they gain maturity in Christ—a point reinforced by a reference to Heb 5:13–14. There follow quotations from Phil 2:19–10, 1 Thess 5:21, 1 Cor 4:19–20, and 1 Cor 8:1.3.9, along with verses from Proverbs, which serve to bolster the point that the Bible endorses pious learning for the sake of discovering the truth.

That Col 2:8 was a challenging text for Clement is confirmed by his return to this verse in *Stromateis* VI, chapter 8. Continuing his conversation with the *simpliciores*, Clement now gives his interpretation of στοιχεῖα as “elementary” a more positive nuance, as “preparatory training.” “It is clear” Clement writes here, “that Paul does not disparage philosophy.” Just as in Hebrews 5 Paul admonishes Jews not to return to the “elementary teaching” of the law; so in

30 *Strom.* I 11, 50. Other verses quoted in this context are 1 Cor 3:19–20, 2 Cor 1:9–10, 1 Cor 2:5,15, and Col 2:4.

31 Clement reinforces the point by quoting Paul's command in 2 Tim 2:22–23 to avoid *childish questions*. By way of contrast, he quotes Matt 7:7 (*Seek and you shall find*) as a warrant for the proper kind of (philosophical) investigation.

32 Col 2:6–7: *As you therefore have received Christ Jesus the Lord, continue to live your lives in him, rooted and built up in him and established in the faith, just as you were taught, abounding in thanksgiving.*

33 In the first category he names Diogenes and Thales.

Col 2:8 he says that Greek converts should not desert the gospel in favor of the more elementary teachings of philosophy.³⁴ He explains:

For this partial philosophy is very elementary (στοιχειωτική), whereas perfect knowledge transcends the world and deals with intellectual matters and things more spiritual than these which *no eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor the human heart conceived* [citing a verse from Paul that he particularly loves, 1 Cor 2:9].³⁵

In chapter 12 of *Stromateis* I Clement discusses two other verses from 1 Corinthians 2. Paul, he argues, refers to people like the *simpliciores* when he says in verse 14: *the unspiritual one does not receive the things of God*.³⁶ On the other hand, Paul's description of wisdom as *hidden in a mystery* in 1 Cor 2:7 serves as a justification for Clement's own practice of reserving some of his teachings for well-prepared students (I 12, 55). In the chapters that follow Clement asserts that the good things in Greek philosophy were "stolen" from the "barbarians" i.e. from the Bible.³⁷ This theft, Clement argues, was turned into a good thing by divine providence, a point he makes by paraphrasing Eph 3:10–11: *So that through the Church the wisdom of God in its rich variety might be made known in accordance with the eternal purpose that he has carried out in Christ* (*Strom.* I 17, 85).³⁸

In chapter 18 of *Stromateis* I Clement turns to a second main "problem" text (after Col 2:8) that might seem to support the position of the *simpliciores*, 1 Cor 1:19–24:

For it is written, "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and the discernment of the discerning I will thwart." . . . Has not God made foolish the wisdom of the world? For since, in the wisdom of God, the world did not know God through wisdom, God decided, through the foolishness of our proclamation, to save those who believe. For Jews demand signs and Greeks desire wisdom,

34 Clement repeats this exegesis of Col 2:8 in *Strom.* VI 15, 115.

35 *Strom.* VI 8, 68.

36 With a lack of civility unusual in the *Stromateis*, Clement also applies to this group Christ's directive in Matt 7:6 not to throw pearls "before pigs" (I 12, 55, 3).

37 Clement finds this implied in John 10:8, *All who came before me are thieves and bandits*, a verse he considers in *Strom.* I 17, 81–87.

38 As Salvatore Lilla points out in *Clement of Alexandria. A Study in Christian Platonism and Gnosticism* (Oxford: OUP, 1971), 9–59, Clement gives several different explanations of the origins of Greek philosophy, including theft and providential inspiration by God.

but we proclaim Christ crucified, a stumbling block to Jews and foolishness to Gentiles, but to those who are the called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God.

Clement explains Paul's statement in verse 19 that God will *destroy the wisdom of the wise* to mean that the "lesser lamp" of Greek philosophy is overshadowed by the brilliant light of the gospel. As for the statement in verse 21 that the *gospel is foolishness*, Clement says that this represents the position of certain Greeks who regard the story of the Son of God's appearance on earth as a "myth" (1 18, 88). He has trouble explaining verse 20: *Has not God made foolish the wisdom of the world?*—at first suggesting that the sentence should be read as a denial "God has *not* made foolish," and then observing that in any case one who follows the *wisdom of the world* is responsible for his own bad choice (*Strom.* 1 18, 88–90).

Thus far we have seen two aspects of Clement's response to the Pauline exegesis of the *simpliciores*: his offering of alternative interpretations of the two "problem" texts Colossians 2 and 1 Corinthians 1 and his interpretation of verses from 1 Corinthians, Colossians, Galatians, Hebrews and Acts as supporting the use of philosophy in explicating the gospel. A third line of argument is that Paul himself employs Greek learning. Clement points out an iambic line that mirrors Greek tragedy in 1 Cor 15:32–33 and a citation from the poet Epimenides in Tit 1:12–13 (*Strom.* 1 14, 59). He notes further that Paul, in his Areopagus speech (Acts 17), says that the Greeks have some knowledge of God and quotes from the Greek poet Aratus (*Strom.* 1 19, 91).³⁹ In *Stromateis* VI Clement makes an even stronger claim, when he attributes to Paul the following words from an otherwise unknown apocryphal work that counsels Christians to make use of Greek literature: "Take also the Hellenic books and mark how the Sibyl reveals one God and the things that are to come" (*Strom.* VI 5, 43).⁴⁰

39 Clement also suggests that the words *now we see in a mirror* in 1 Cor 13:12 can refer to the partial knowledge of God attained by the best of the Greek philosophers (*Strom.* 1 19, 94).

40 The quotation goes on to refer to another pagan text called the *Oracles of Hystaspes*, which Clement says have much to say about the coming of the Son of God. For discussion of this passage see Brent Landau, "The Unknown Apostle: A Pauline *Agraphon* in Clement of Alexandria's *Stromateis*," *ASE* 25 (2008) 117–27. Landau explicates Clement's quotation by comparing passages in the *Institutes* of the third-century Latin Christian apologist Lactantius. Lactantius refers to pagan prophecies of Christianity in the oracles of the Sibyl and of Hystaspes, whom he identifies as an Iranian king who was the first patron of the Zarathustra. He notes that Hystaspes is also mentioned by Justin Martyr. As to the source of Clement's quotation: Landau disputes the suggestion of Zahn that it comes

4 Conversations with Greek Philosophers

The relationship between the Bible and Greek learning is also a primary subject of conversation with "the Greeks" who were critical of Christian teaching.⁴¹ Clement introduces this group of interlocutors early in the book I, after quoting the phrase *Greeks seek after wisdom* from 1 Cor 1:22:

Some, enslaved to pleasures and wishing to disbelieve, laugh at the truth that is worthy of all reverence, mocking its un-Greek character. Others, exalting themselves, are at pains to invent accusations against our teachings, setting us captious questions, hunting out verbal niceties, and eager to make use of rhetorical tricks.⁴²

References to Greek critics of Christianity are scattered throughout the rest of the *Stromateis*. Objections reported include the charges that Christian faith is vacuous (κενή), uncultured (βάρβαρος) and based on fear, that Christians are impious, that the God of the Bible is subject to passions, and that the account of Christ's life and passion is a "myth."⁴³

Clement's response to such charges is concentrated especially in *Stromateis* books II, VI, and VII, and he makes three main arguments. First, in chapters 2–6 of *Stromateis* II he mounts a defense of Christian faith by explaining it in philosophical terms:

Faith, which the Greeks malign as vacuous and uncultured, is in fact voluntary preconception (πρόληψις ἐκούσιος), an assent (συγκατάθεσις) of piety as the divine apostle says: *the assurance of things hoped for, the conviction of things not seen. Indeed, by faith our ancestors received approval. . . . And without faith it is impossible to please God* (Heb 11:1–2.6).⁴⁴

from the *Acts of Paul* and suggests that it might come from an apocryphal letter of Paul that was forged after the close of the New Testament Pauline corpus.

41 Note that in the case of Clement's conversations with Greek critics, unlike those with the other two groups of dialogue partners, he does not refer to specific texts from the Pauline letters that were noted by his opponents, but he uses Pauline texts to respond to their general criticisms of Christian teaching and the Christian Scriptures.

42 *Strom.* I 3, 22.

43 See, e.g., *Strom.* II 1, 2; 2, 8; 6, 30; 16, 77; VI 1, 1; VII 1, 1. In *Strom.* VII 1, 1 and several other passages Clement associates such criticisms with persecution of Christians by "the Greeks."

44 *Strom.* II 2, 8.

Noting that Greek philosophers agree that “first principles” (ἀρχαί) cannot be proved, Clement labels faith a “first principle” and asserts that it is only through faith that one can arrive at God, the “first principle” of the universe (*Strom.* II 4, 13–14). He further defines faith as a supposition made by the free will (ὑπόθεσις ἐκούσιος), a prejudgment (πρόληψις) made by a rational person before actual assent (II 6, 28). Appealing to Platonists and Stoics who maintain that assent (συγκατάθεσις), is in our power, he argues: “This assent is nothing other than faith.” (II 12, 54–55)⁴⁵ To support these views, Clement appeals to Saint Paul. In the text quoted above from *Strom.* II, chapter 8 he uses several verses from Hebrews 11, and he also cites to this passage in chapter 4, now citing examples of faith from verses 3 and 4, and indicating that he has the whole chapter in view.

In stressing that faith is a voluntary choice, Clement is responding not only to philosophical critics but also to “heterodox” teachers such as Valentinians, who according to his report in *Strom.* II 3, 10: “ascribe faith to us, the simple, but claim knowledge for themselves, who are saved by nature.” To support the voluntary nature of faith he cites Rom 10:14–17 where Paul traces faith to hearing the preaching of God’s messengers. Preaching avails nothing, Clement argues, if the hearers are not open to persuasion (II 6, 25–26). He uses Rom 4:3 *Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned to him as justice* to argue that “we who are the ‘seed’ of Abraham through what we hear are also called to have faith” (cf. Rom 4:12.16.23–24).

A second argument in response to criticisms from Greek philosophers is that the best that philosophy has to offer is already contained in the Christian Scriptures—when they are correctly interpreted. This is true, for example, of two fundamental concerns of Greek philosophy, the cultivation of virtue and control of irrational passions. In *Stromateis* I 20, 97–98 Clement mentions the four “cardinal” virtues (prudence, self-control, courage, and justice)⁴⁶ in the context of an argument that Greek philosophy can contribute to discovering the truth, even though the “grandeur of knowledge” is revealed only to Christians who are “taught by God” (citing 1 Thess 4:9).⁴⁷ In *Strom.* VII 3, 17 he argues that the Gnostic—i.e. the perfected Christian—possesses all knowledge

45 For a fuller discussion of Clement’s philosophical defense of faith and its sources in Greek philosophical writings see Lilla, *Clement of Alexandria*, 118–42.

46 See Plato, *Resp.* IV 427e.

47 Clement repeats these ideas in *Strom.* VI 11, 95, claiming that the Greeks “stole” the teaching about the four virtues from Scripture and citing Wis 8:7; see also *Strom.* II 18, 78 where he maintains the Greeks derived their teachings about these and other virtues from Moses, and *Strom.* VII 11, 60–68 where he argues that it is the Christian Gnostic who displays perfect virtue, here with particular emphasis on the virtue of courage.

including “all that has to do with courage and prudence, and self-control and the highest, most perfect virtue, justice.”

One way Clement substantiates this claim is by quoting passages where Paul speaks of δικαιοσύνη, “justice” or “righteousness.” The Christian Gnostic, he insists, displays justice of a higher order, a point he thinks is implied in Rom 4:3, where Paul says that Abraham’s faithfulness *was reckoned to him as justice*. This higher virtue, which involves not only avoidance of evil but also active beneficence, is also described in 2 Cor 6:7, where Paul speaks of being defended *with the weapons of justice for the right hand and for the left* (*Strom.* VI 12, 103).⁴⁸

Scripture, Clement insists, teaches the four primary Greek virtues, and others besides. In *Stromateis* II chapter 9 he commends specifically biblical virtues—especially the triad of faith, hope and love from 1 Cor 13:13—and stresses that love is the highest virtue of all. Other biblical virtues applauded here include repentance, hospitality, philanthropy (alluding to Tit 3:4), concord, caution, and justice. He quotes from Rom 12:2 Paul’s command to pursue *what is good and acceptable and perfect* and commends this whole chapter, which speaks of love, hope, perseverance, harmony and peace (II 9, 41–45).

Clement also finds reference in the Pauline letters to another prominent teaching of Greek philosophy, the struggle against irrational passions. He writes:

Both the gospel and the apostle order us to bring ourselves *into captivity* (2 Cor 10:5) and put ourselves to death (Matt 16:25), slaying *the old man corrupt and deluded by its lusts* (Eph 4:22) and raising up *the new man* (Eph 4:24) from the death of our old perversion, putting off our passions and becoming free from sin.⁴⁹

He gives a similar interpretation to Gal 6:14 where Paul declares that *the world has been crucified to me and I to the world* (*Strom.* II 20, 104), and he makes frequent reference to Eph 6:12: *For our struggle is not against enemies of flesh and blood, but against . . . the spiritual forces of evil*. The Gnostic, Clement writes, is the “true wrestler” and “the contest waged with all our powers” is not *against flesh and blood but against the spiritual powers* of strong passions (ἐμπαθῶν παθῶν) working in the flesh (*Strom.* VII 3, 20).⁵⁰

48 NRSV renders δικαιοσύνη in these Pauline texts with “righteousness.”

49 *Strom.* VII 3, 14.

50 In *Strom.* II 20, 109–110 Clement quotes Eph 6:11–12 and explains that the soul’s passions are “imprints” of the *spiritual powers against whom is our struggle*. Other allusions to

In *Stromateis* VII chapter 14 Clement concludes his defense against Greek criticisms with a detailed exegesis of 1 Corinthians 6, where Paul forbids Christians to engage in lawsuits. On Clement's reading, the deeper meaning of Paul's counsel is that becoming a perfect Gnostic requires not only forgiving offenses but also the complete obliteration of any *memory* of evils one has suffered. This Christian ideal of a total victory over the passions surpasses anything taught by Greek philosophers such as Plato.⁵¹

Clement's third response to Greek criticisms of biblical faith is the most original. This is his teaching that philosophy was given by God as a covenant with the Greeks, parallel to his covenant with the Jews, and that both covenants were a preparation for the perfect teaching of the gospel:

Everything necessary and beneficial for life has come to us from God, and philosophy has been given especially to the Greeks, as a covenant proper to them, as a stepping stone to the philosophy of Christ (*Strom.* VI 8, 67).⁵²

This argument, which also functions as a defense against the *simpliciores'* criticism of his use of Greek philosophy, assigns philosophy a positive role, while also asserting the superiority of Christian understanding of God's magnificent plan to educate and save all humanity.

Paul's letters have contributed to this teaching. For example it can be seen as a reinterpretation of Romans 1–4 for a new context. Paul's main point in this section is twofold: that sin is universal and that Christ is savior for all, a point that is reinforced by his repeated references to "the Jew and the Greek [or gentile]" (Rom 1:16; 2:10; 3:9; 3:20; cf. 4:11–12). Paul argues that Jews and Greeks are equally guilty of sin before God—and thus their need for the salvation revealed in Jesus Christ is the same.⁵³ He is not concerned to develop a positive

Eph 6:12 are found in *Strom.* III 16, 101; IV 7, 47; 14, 96; V 14, 93–105; VII 3, 20; 13, 82. This verse was also important for Origen. See, e.g., *Princ.* I 8, 4; III 2, 1.3–4; 4, 1.

51 I discuss this chapter at greater length in "Saint Paul as Apostle of *Apatheia*: *Stromateis* VII, chapter 14," in M. Havrda, V. Hušek, and J. Plátová (eds.), *The Seventh Book of the Stromateis. Proceedings of the Colloquium on Clement of Alexandria, Olomouc, October 21–23, 2010* (VChr Suppl. 117; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 199–216.

52 See also VI 7, 58–60.

53 When Paul asserts in Rom 1:20 that *what can be known about God is plain to [the Greeks], because God has shown it to them* his point is that all know enough about God to deserve judgment if they do not worship him. He does not develop a positive theory of natural theology. On this see Edward P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (London: S.C.M.,

theory of progressive revelation. Clement is interested in a different point: he thinks Paul's assertion of the equality of Jew and Greek must imply that God has treated them equally, by providing two parallel covenants. He uses the statement in Rom 2:11 that *God shows no partiality*—which refers originally to equality in condemnation—to argue that God cannot have left the Greeks without revelation but has provided them with philosophy to prepare them for the full revelation of the gospel.⁵⁴

Hebrews and Ephesians offered further inspiration. One of Clement's most beloved biblical verses in Heb 1:1: *Long ago God spoke to our ancestors in many and various ways by the prophets*. He excerpts from this the phrase *in many and various ways* (πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως) and gives it a new application, to mean that God has prepared for the gospel not only by sending Moses and the prophets to the Hebrews, but also by sending philosophers to the Greeks.⁵⁵ Another Pauline phrase that suggests this idea to Clement is *the wisdom of God in its rich variety* from Eph 3:10–11, which reads: *So that through the Church the wisdom of God in its rich variety might be made known in accordance with the eternal purpose that he has carried out in Christ*.⁵⁶ For Clement this *rich variety* clearly includes Greek philosophy. In a passage from *Stromateis* VI he brings Heb 1:1 together with several verses from Ephesians to express this idea in a different way—not in terms of two covenants that prepare for the gospel, but as one covenant revealed in different forms:

For in truth there is one redemptive covenant coming down to us *from the foundation of the world* (Eph 1:4), though in different generations and times it is thought to be different in the way it is given. It follows that there is one unchangeable gift of salvation from one God, which benefits *in various ways* (Heb 1:1). For this reason the *dividing wall* (Eph 2:14) that separates the Greek from the Jew is taken away to form *a special people* (Tit 2:14). And thus both come together in *the unity of faith* (Eph 4:13).⁵⁷

1977), 442–7. Sanders argues that Paul here works from “solution” to “problem.” His starting point is that the good news of salvation in Jesus Christ is for everyone; thus he must demonstrate that all are sinful and have need of this salvation.

54 See, e.g., the allusion to Rom 2:11 in *Strom.* VI 6, 46.

55 He uses this phrase from Heb 1:1 many times. See, e.g., *Strom.* I 4, 27; V 6, 35; VI 6, 49; 7, 58.60; 10, 81 (where it is used to counter views of the *simpliciores*); VI 13, 106; VII 16, 95.

56 Cited by Clement in *Strom.* I 4, 27 and I 17, 85.

57 *Strom.* VI 13, 106.

5 Conclusion

To sum up, I would like to return to the point with which I began: Clement's overall evaluation of Paul. Clement knows Paul's letters well, and he loves them. He quotes from thirteen of the fourteen letters from the patristic corpus of Paul, all except Philemon. Stählin's index notes references to every single chapter in eleven of the Pauline letters (1 and 2 Corinthians, Romans, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, and Hebrews) and to most chapters in 1–2 Thessalonians. References to 1 Corinthians lead the way with over 5 columns; Romans is next with 4 columns, and then Ephesians with 2 columns. In surveying this material, this paper has had to be selective; there is much more that could be said. What I hope to have illuminated is the context in which Clement ponders Paul's epistles in the late second century, when Christianity is beginning to emerge on the world stage and when there was considerable debate about how the new Christian Scriptures relate to the Jewish Bible and to the literary and philosophical classics of the Greco-Roman world.

Reading Paul's letters in conversation with "heterodox" Christians, simple believers, and Greek philosophers, Clement presents Paul as a sound moral teacher—neither an antinomian nor a radical ascetic—who approves of single marriage and may himself be a married man. He sees Paul as a consummate teacher of virtue, who has knowledge of Greek learning and urges his readers to war against the enslaving passions and instructs them to cultivate the virtues, especially justice and love.

Like Paul, Clement was drawn into debates about "law." But the point at issue in his debates is quite different. For Paul the question was whether gentiles needed to be circumcized and observe all the laws of Moses in order to be part of the new Christian communities. The issue in Clement's conversations with "heterodox" Christian teachers is the place of the Jewish Scriptures as a whole, and the God they proclaim, in Christian theology.⁵⁸ Understanding the word "law" to refer to moral commandments in general and also to the whole Old Testament, Clement is adamant that Old and New Testaments proclaim one God, and he insists that Paul's message of salvation by divine grace does not nullify the importance of performing good "works," which for Clement means living a life of perfect virtue.

58 Clement argues these points against Marcion, Valentinus, and Basilides, and their followers.

Like Paul in Corinth,⁵⁹ Clement encountered Christian teachers who claimed to have superior knowledge. He is particularly concerned to respond to Valentinian teachers who had used Paul's words about *milk* and *meat* in 1 Cor 3:1–3 to criticize ordinary Christians for the "childish" nature of their teaching, in contrast to their own higher *gnosis*. Clement's response to such exegesis is two-fold. On the one hand he defends the creed and the baptism of the majority church to which he is loyal; on the other hand he agrees with Valentinian exegetes that there is a higher wisdom to be discerned in Paul's words. In passages such as 1 Corinthians 2–3 and Hebrews 5 Paul is encouraging his readers to engage in spiritual exegesis, probing the deeper meaning of his words and of other scriptural texts. Clement is convinced that Paul calls *all* Christians to progress from simple faith to true knowledge, from a simple reading to a deeper, more philosophical understanding of Scripture.

Against both simple believers who shouted "faith alone" and philosophical Greeks who ridiculed Christian faith, Clement insists that the teachings of Paul are thoroughly compatible with the best of Greek philosophy. From Paul's teaching about the equality of Jews and gentiles he concludes that philosophy was from the beginning a crucial part of God's providential plan, given to the Greeks, as was the law to the Jews, as preparation for the gospel. And now that Christ has come, the insights of Plato and other wise Greeks are important tools for penetrating the depths of the "hidden wisdom" contained in Scripture, including the letters of Paul.

Clement's great admiration for Paul and his teaching is expressed in several honorifics. Paul is "the holy apostle," "the blessed apostle," "the divine apostle" or simply "*the* apostle." Borrowing a classical epithet found in Homer and Plato, he also calls Paul ὁ θεσπέσιος the "divinely inspired" apostle.⁶⁰ The verses Clement cites most often indicate what he values most in Paul's letters. It is Paul who tells us that Christ is *wisdom and power of God* (1 Cor 1:24), who has taught *in many and various ways* (Heb 1:1) in order to lead all people to the deepest possible knowledge of God, to *what eye has not seen, nor ear heard* (1 Cor 2:9). It is Paul, as well, who calls all—Jew and Greek, "heterodox," simple Christian, and scoffing Greek philosopher—to join in the pursuit of perfection *until all of us come to the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, to the perfect man, to the measure of the full stature of Christ* (Eph 4:13).

59 This is reflected for example, in 1 Cor 8:1, *we all have gnosis*, often understood to be a quotation from Paul's opponents.

60 For θεσπέσιος, see *Protr.* 1, 7; *Strom.* 1 19, 94; V 1, 5; 10, 60.

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